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ABSTRACT

The 21 papers review the most recent research approaches to multicultural education and discuss initiatives for new methods of teaching and learning. More than 400 people from 12 countries participated in this conference. The first section, "Theoretical Reflections on Multicultural Education," contains five articles on curriculum development and two dealing with the ethical principles that guide research in the field of multicultural education. The four papers of part 2, "Multicultural Teaching Practices and Migrant Teaching," concentrate on research on multicultural teaching and learning practices. Part 3, "Practical Examples of Multicultural Education in Different Disciplines," contains six examples of multicultural education projects. "International Student Mobility as a Challenge for Educational Institutions," part 4, contains four papers focusing on the mobility of students. Part 5 centers on "Development Perspectives for Educational Policy Planning in Africa." Each paper contains references. (Contains 10 figures and 5 tables.) (SLD)

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLA

Multicultural Education

Reflection on Theory and Practice

Edited by Kirsti Häkkinen

UD 032 683

Multicultural Education: Reflection on Theory and Practice

Edited by Kirsti Häkkinen

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
Continuing Education Centre
Multicultural Programmes
1998

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

The University of Jyväskylä hosted an International Congress on Multicultural Education from October 16-18, 1997. This publication includes a selection of papers from this event, which hosted more than 400 participants from 12 countries in order to reflect on the theory and practice of multicultural education. This book aims at reviewing the most recent research approaches as well as initiatives for new methods of teaching and learning.

The book begins with a discussion about *curriculum development* which is one of the key elements in multicultural education. In the first three articles Geneva Gay, Marilyn Turkovich and Rauni Räsänen discuss what are the prerequisites for constructing a sound multicultural curriculum. They tackle questions like 'how should the multicultural curriculum be constructed', 'how is the diversity of learning reflected in a curriculum', and 'in which ways can curriculum and education in general contribute to the formation of a more egalitarian society'. The three researchers emphasize the school's role as a change agent, which should reflect and incorporate global transformations in its teaching and learning agenda when educating citizens towards global concerns and responsibility.

The last two articles of part one deal with ethical principles that guide research in the field of multicultural education. As already tackled from the practical point of view by Geneva Gay, both Pirkko Pitkänen and Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo reflect empowerment as one of the most important aspects of multicultural education. Pitkänen calls for discussion on basic ethical principles that should guide education in a multicultural society. Alitolppa-Niitamo presents an interesting approach on how 'otherness' can be defined in researching subjugated groups, and especially, what is the justification for a researcher to define any group identity from outside.

Part two concentrates on research on *multicultural teaching and learning practices*. Jill Bourne commences with the examination of how racism becomes legitimated in everyday school practices. In her own research project she endeavours to make a synthesis of how a successful multicultural school functions: what are the underlying principles in teaching and learning? The same theme is also studied by Maarit Miettinen, this time with teachers themselves as the target group. In her research Miettinen has found four different types of pedagogical thinking based on questions how North Karelian class teachers conceptualize multicultural education, how they have confronted pupils from different cultures, and how their own values and attitudes are reflected in their teaching. Pirjo Lahdenperä also continues to explore teachers' thinking and their attitudes towards students' immigrant backgrounds. The last article in the part two introduces a new initiative in immigrant teaching. Multicultural Counselling Clinic aims at finding a new approach for developing the multicultural counselling competence of school counsellors in their education programme.

Part three presents six *innovative examples of multicultural education projects* from a variety of disciplines. Gina Cantoni starts with a project called 'CACTUS', which focuses on providing special training for teachers on how to work with Native Americans and other minorities, especially in the areas of math and science. This article demonstrates the importance of role ethnicity issues throughout the curriculum in all subjects. Pekka Parkkinen and Erkki Sutinen continue the science section with an examination of how computers can promote cross-cultural understanding. They describe a project executed in Kidugala Secondary School, in which students explored the folklore of one African village through Computer-Aided Learning. Natalia Turunen and Tarja Leppäaho move from science to language learning in Finnish-Russian communication lessons. They have made an analysis of the ways how

Finnish students interpreted communication situations in the Russian context. Mari Maasilta provides the reader with an interesting example of the way how African cinema can contribute to multicultural education. Using her own experiences as a teacher and students' feedback she discusses the strengths and weaknesses in using African cinema in film studies at the university level. Christine Greenough gives a critical examination of organisational behaviour and responses of community nurses in relation to the needs of a multiethnic and multicultural community. Part two is concluded by Helena Allahwerdi, who introduces the 'The Challenge for Global Citizenship', an educational programme coordinated by the Finnish UN Association.

Part four includes four articles, which concentrate on issues connected with *international student mobility*. Marja Laesvirta begins with a qualitative study of four universities' problems and possibilities in implementing internationalization in their institutions. The study also treats of questions such as 'what are the institutional pressures for internationalization' and 'how the theme is conceptualized by different staff members at the university'. The next three chapters will give examples of projects involving exchange students. Michael Berry has collected experiences on cross-cultural learning from exchange students in Finland and Austria. Kerttu Tossavainen et al compare Finnish and British health care teacher trainees' experiences on collaborative learning in nurse teacher education. Uwe Zemke concludes the chapter by reviewing the general trends of student mobility in the European Union, with special emphasis on private sector internship programmes.

The last part of the book centres on *development perspectives for educational policy and planning in Sub-Saharan Africa and Mozambique*. Anthony Okuogume commences by claiming that applications of Western management theories will fail in South-Saharan Africa due to the differences in underlying values. He searches for a new methodological and policy direction for lessening the gap between practices of public administration and existing African indigenous culture. The last article in this book examines the lesson to be drawn from the adopted approach and framework for educational policy and planning in Mozambique.

The book has been edited by Kirsti Häkkinen and Heshin Pekkanen who both work at the Multicultural Programmes Unit, which is part of the Continuing Education Centre of the University of Jyväskylä. Kirsti Häkkinen has compiled the structure of the book, whereas technical editing has been undertaken by Heshin Pekkanen. As the editors, we wish to thank all the contributors and also hope that those researchers and practitioners whose articles were not included in the selection would be willing to contribute again in the next Congress in September 16-18, 1999. It is a pleasure to notice that research in this field has aroused so much interest that the editors had hard time in making the selection for the book. We wish to emphasize that the quality of all the articles was very high and the main criterion in the inclusion of papers was to compose a book with a logical order where articles fit together. We hope that this discussion of theory and practice in multicultural education will get some fuel from this book!

Jyväskylä 20.9.1998

Kirsti Häkkinen
Planning Coordinator

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Programme Secretary

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PART ONE: THEORETICAL REFLECTION ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

1. PRINCIPLES AND PARADIGMS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Geneva Gay

1.1 Introduction

Fundamentally, multicultural education is, simply an attempt to bring educational processes and practices closely in line with basic a characteristic of the human condition and U. S. society, and high quality, effective pedagogical practices. That is, cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity exists, and is influential in shaping social, intellectual, and political behaviors. This is both a descriptive fact and a prescriptive goal, a historical consequence and a futuristic necessity to achieve a more vital society and higher levels of academic success for all students.

The national unity citizens of the United States proclaim in statements like "one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all," and *e pluribus unum*, is still more of a conceptual vision than a practical reality. As barber (1992) explains, diversity is, at once, a prominent virtue, a source of pride, a brave boast, a troubling reality, and an unsettling problem that complicates and muddles what it means culturally to be an American and a citizen of the United States. Banks (1993, p.23) adds that while the United States may be one nation politically, socially it is deeply divided along race, ethnic, class, and gender lines. Because of this, "Multicultural education is designed to help unify a deeply divided nation rather than to divide a highly cohesive one." It supports the national ideal of *e pluribus unum*, but demands that the standard of *unum* be changed from the current one of Eurocentric dominance to one that is a composite or confluence of ethnic and cultural pluralism. This new standard for creating national unity out of diversity is what Asante (1991; 991/92) envisions as promoting "pluralism without hierarchy."

Teaching and learning are always cultural processes, which take place within particular social contexts. To the extent that they reflect the experience, perspectives, orientations, and contributions of a wide variety of ethnic and cultural groups, higher levels of academic success will be assured for a greater number of students. Put simply, students learn more and easier when academic knowledge and skills they are expected to learn are filtered through there own experiential and cultural frames of reference. The discussion that follows develops these ideas in greater detail. It explains the intentions of multicultural education, why these are important, the key principles and concepts of the movement, and some general suggestions for how theoretical ideas can be translated into school practices.

1.2 Defense and Descriptions of Multicultural Education

Virtually all proponents of multicultural education endorse Asante's idea of promoting egalitarian, non-hierarchical, equal status cultural approaches to teaching and learning. It challenges the notion that just because European Americans are the numerical majority the United States their worldviews, values, and cultural styles should be considered inherently superior or universally correct. It celebrates the rich tapestry of all the people, cultures, and traditions which comprise the United States by endorsing the study of ethnic groups of color, the poor, and females along with those of European Americans, the middle class, and males. It also implies that students be taught to understand and appreciate the fact that the mainstream culture of the United States is, in reality, a composite of contributions from many different ethnic groups, not the creation of European Americans alone. In these regard, multicultural education aims to "close the gab between the Western democratic ideals of equality and justice and social practices that contradict those ideals, such as discrimination based on race, gender, and social class" (Banks 1991/92, p. 32).

The declaration that there is "no one model American" made in 1973 by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) is a central theme in multicultural education. It forms one of the two major pillars of arguments in favor of including information about different ethnic and cultural groups in school curricula, and diversifying instructional strategies to accommodate a variety of ethnic and cultural learning styles. The other pillar is the indisputable fact of life is that there are no two human beings that are totally identical. According to Butts (1978, p. 375) the incredibly wide varieties of peoples, cultures, and experiences which comprise humankind are "the essential ingredients of both democracy and personal development." Since educational systems are integral parts and reflections of the societies in which they exist, and U. S. society is composed of much social, racial, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity, there is no choice but for its schools to be culturally pluralistic. Therefore, multicultural education is a viable means for schools to fulfill their functions of socializing students into the national culture, providing them with the very best education possible and promoting democracy.

Multiculturalists feel that knowing, appreciating, and participating in different cultures will lead students a to better understanding of a point made by Martin Luther King, Jr. He reasoned those human beings and citizens of the United States "are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly" (quotes in Washington 1986, p. 210). Furthermore, these reciprocal interactions enrich individuals and society, make life more interesting, stimulating, and exciting, and provide more solutions to social and personal problems than are possible in monocultural systems (AACTE 1973; Pai 1984).

It is not so much that the goals envisioned by multicultural education so are radically different from those embedded in the ideals of U. S. democratic values, or good quality education in general. Instead, it asks for a reinterpretation of them within the context of cultural diversity. It demands that schools "expand their concepts of political and cultural democracy to include large groups of students who have been historically denied opportunities to fully realize American for democratic values and ideals" (Banks 1984, p. 63). One proposal for achieving this expansion is to "center" ethnically different children in their own cultural traditions in order to make the educational process more effective for them. Asante (1991/92) explains that genuine "centric" education provides to African, Asian, Latino, Native and Asian American children of the United States learning opportunities and experience comparable to European American children. That is, the right to know

their own cultures, to learn in styles that are familiar to them, and to live school settings which celebrate their heritages. This is a reasonable request since "children who are centered in their own cultural information are better students, more disciplined, and have greater motivation for schoolwork" (Asante 1991/92, p. 30). This cultural centeredness does not have to be exclusive or permanent in that all the education of a particular ethnic group's members is always framed by only its own cultural references. The use of cultural content, perspectives, and styles from different ethnic groups in teaching and learning enrich the educational experiences of all students.

Multicultural education places a heavy emphasis on cultural understanding within and among racial, ethnic and social groups. But, this does not mean emphasizing cultural trivia and exoticism. Nor is the intent merely to promote "feeling good about self and others." Sometimes multicultural practices are not consistent with theoretical ideals, and focus too much attention on obvious and superficial symbols, artifacts, customs, and traditions of cultures. This happens because of the lag that frequently exists between theory and practice, teacher competencies, the attitudes and behaviours of educational policy-makers and socio-political leaders, and the difficulties associated with implementing educational innovations.

The U. S. mainstream culture and the cultures of other ethnic groups, such as African, Asian, Native, and Latino Americans, are not mutually exclusive or irreconcilable opposites. Rather, they are closely interrelated and enriching of each other. One simple but significant indication of this belief is how multiculturalists routinely identify their various constituent groups. They consistently evoke their various constituent groups. They consistently evoke their dual identities, referring to them as Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, African Americans, Chinese Americans, Native Americans, Italian Americans, etc., rather than as Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, Africans, Natives, and Italians. This is a revealing testament of a commitment to cultural dualism, to unity and diversity, to differences and similarities among and within ethnic and cultural groups. It personifies the belief of that the cultural heritages and experience of different ethnic groups are legitimate and valid, and that they enhance rather than diminish individuals and society, teaching and learning.

Sigel (1991, p. 7) explains further that "cultural pluralists envision or organic relationship in which the individual freely partakes of his or her own distinctive heritage, but also becomes an integral part of the history and experiences of the common culture." The position statement of Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) Multicultural Education Commission (1977) makes a similar argument. It explains that multicultural education "recognizes the right of different cultures to exist, as separate and distinct entities, and acknowledges their contributions to the societal entity. It evolves from fundamental understandings of the interaction of divergent cultures *within* the culture of the United States" (ASCD 1977, p. 3). Others, such as Darder (1991), Banks (1988), and Ramirez and Castañeda (1974), refer to teaching students skills to function in the national culture and different ethnic cultures simultaneously as becoming *bicultural* and /or *multicultural*. All of these emphases belie the contentions of critics that multicultural education is in opposition to national identity, loyalty, and culture.

Multicultural education rejects the notion that any one cultural standard and source of knowledge is universal and absolute. Instead, it promotes an ethos of *multiple perspectives* and *critical analysis, which subjects all canons of knowledge to thoughtful,* and through interrogation. These orientations embody the features of critical inquiry that Barber (1992) describes. He explains that any version of American history, culture, and development, which cannot withstand sharp critique, is worthless. To question whether the history, culture, and life of the United States include sufficient and appropriate representations of the contributions of Africans, Native tribal groups, Asians, Pacific

Islanders, Latinos, Jews, and Middle Easterners does not mean that those of Europeans will be automatically denigrated or rejected. Nor does it mean that one or some of these groups will be indiscriminately glorified. Rather, all groups' contributions are to be carefully scrutinized, in order to gain greater knowledge of the human genius, and to present a more balanced and accurate rendition of the American story (Hilliard 1991/92).

Advocates of multicultural education also contend that it is simply " good education" for students living in an ethnically, culturally, and racially pluralistic society. On this point Suzuki (1979, p. 50) explains that multicultural education "basically amounts to sound educational practice coupled with a vision for a better society." It has all of the elements that constitute principles of good pedagogy, such as relevance, developmental and contextual appropriateness, validity, significance of instruction, and teaching the whole child. Additionally, it places these ideas within the context of a wider range of social and individual diversities than what traditional educational programs and practices do. Multicultural education visualizes an interactive, reciprocal, and full partnership between components of cultural diversity and principles of good quality teaching. Out of this relationship emerges an educational environment where more students are actively and intellectually engaged in the learning process, and are empowered through self-knowledge, cultural affirmation, and high levels of academic achievement.

As "education for freedom," multicultural education aims to liberate individuals, groups, and society from the shackles of oppression, exploitation, ethnocentrism, and hegemony. This is done by developing a moral, ethical, and political commitment to individual, group, and cultural equality; developing skills to function well in multicultural settings; and promoting democratic living within and among culturally pluralistic groups and communities.

Parekh (1986, 26-17) explains this perspective of multicultural education as:

> An attempt to release the child from the confines of the ethnocentric straitjacket and to awaken him to the existence of other cultures, societies and ways of life and thought. It is intended to de-condition the child as much as possible in order that he can go out into the world as free from biases and prejudices as possible and able and willing to explore its rich diversity... Multicultural education is therefore not a departure from, nor incompatible with, but a further refinement of, the liberal idea of education. It does not cut a child off from his own culture; rather it enables him to enrich, refine and take a broader view of it without losing his roots in it.

These notions of multicultural education are a natural complement to those which view it as a means for *evoking* and *enabling* the *voice* of ethnically diverse people so that can tell their own stories, and be actively involved in making decisions that affect their educational lives.

1.3 Major Principles of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education principles are, in effect, translations of general U. S. education ideals into the specific cultural contexts and points of reference of ethnically diverse groups, especially those of color who are marginalized in society and under-achieving in schools. To illustrate, multicultural education may translate the general idea that, "students learn more easily materials that validate their personal experiences", into "instructional materials which present positive views of different ethnic and cultural groups increase the learning of students who are members of those groups." This content and context relationship is similar to that which exists between the universal and the particular, ideals and realities, the abstract and the concrete, and theory and practice.

Most writings on multicultural education are pedagogical; they deal with issues and techniques of teaching and learning. Consequently, they are not easily separated into categories like educational psychology, sociology, and philosophy; they tend to incorporate elements of all of these. The educational principles, which emerge from these writings, reflect this synthesis.

Three categories of value beliefs about the role of cultural pluralism in U. S. education, which generate key conceptual principles to guide classroom practices. 1) First, cultural background and ethnic identity are critical determinants of human attitudes, values, and behaviors in all settings, including teaching and learning. 2) Second, racial, cultural, and ethnic biases permeate schools and society, and thereby minimize individual and social potentialities. 3) Third, the diversity, which characterizes individuals and cultural groups, requires a plurality of instructional programs and strategies if education is to be most effective for all students. Each of these is elucidated further in the remainder of this discussion. They are selective and intended to be a representative sampling of multicultural education philosophy, not an exhaustive profile of everything possible.

1.4 Culture in Teaching and Learning

The observations of Pai (1984), Novak (1975), Kimball (1978), and Hall (1977) illustrate the significance of culture in teaching and learning. Pai explains that because culture is so much a part of what people say and do, for educators to ignore, demean, or reject its influence on student behaviors constitutes an act of psychological and moral violence. To legitimize the significance of only one cultural system (as is most often the case in U. S. schools when only the Eurocentric mainstream culture is studied and valued is to engage in cultural hegemony. Novak and Hall suggest that culture determine our thoughts, actions, emotions, and values, and create the standards of acceptability for all of these. According to Kimball cultural perspectives and experiences provide the screens through which human potentials are filtered, interpreted, and made meaningful. Mason (1960) offers some excellent advice for teachers which points to the critical role of culture in the educational process. He says that, since the values, traditions, and controls within a society have major influences on shaping the personalities of its members, the best way to understand individuals is to study the societies and cultures in which they live. Furthermore, culture is a powerful medium through which teaching and learning are mediated. Educators who understand the cultures of diverse students are likely to be more successful in teaching them than those who do not.

Other educators like Shade (1989), Boykin (1986), Ramirez and Castaneda (1974), and Darder (1991) suggest that many individuals from different cultural, racial, ethnic, and social groups are bi- or even tri-cultural. If teachers are to understand the cultures and personalities of these students, they need to become familiar with their *primordial* background. They cannot assume that African, Asian, Latino, and Native Americans have no culture other than that which they share with mainstream U. S. society. Social class, nationality, gender, language, and length of residence in the United States are other key factors, which influence how the "raw materials" of culture are applied and expressed in human behavior. Teachers need to understand how all of these affect the personalities and potentialities of their students.

Schools have cultures, too, and the educational processes they use are culturally determined. Students and teachers bring all of their cultural experiences, perspectives and screens to the classroom with them. Often these cultures conflict with each other and learning suffers. This point is explained cogently by Spindler (1987) and his associates in *Education and Cultural Process*. They conclude that the extent to which there is cultural incompatibility between students, teachers, methods, materials, values, and expectations, the educational process is likely to be less successful

for everyone. Several researchers, such as Boggs, Watson-Gegeo and Mcmillen (1985), Boykin (1982), Cazden, John and Hymes (1985), and Greenbaum (1985) have found this to be the case with Native Hawaiian, Native American, Latino, and African American students. These findings suggest that the emphasis multicultural education places on matching the home cultural styles of diverse students with those the school is a viable way to improve the quality of their learning.

1.5 Persistent Racial, Ethnic, and Cultural Biases

Another line of argument that multiculturalists use as a basis for generating and justifying principles of education for cultural diversity is the effect of what Cortés (1991) and Gollnick and Chinn (1990) call the "societal curriculum." These are attitudes, values, and images of culturally different groups portrayed in popular culture, and transmitted to schools. Unfortunately, most of these continue to be negative and stereotypical. Even though they may be subtler than blatant, benign than malicious and incidental than intentional, the negative consequences are nonetheless devastating. For example, the image left by prime time television programs and advertising is that only European- and African Americans live in the United States since they are most often the only groups portrayed. African Americans who appear as regulars in programs that are not predominantly Black rarely are involved in *sustained and stable* family and intimate relationships. The subtle message is that these do not exist in real life.

A closely related image and frequently used metaphor for African American males that appears in popular culture and academic scholarship, is "an endangered species." No other group is referred to by a designation usually reserved for animals! Descriptions and role functions of Native Americans are translated into negative stereotypic images, and used as mascots for high school, college and professional athletic teams. Thus, sports news tells about the feats and failures of the Braves, Chiefs, Indians, Warriors, and Redskins. Automobile manufacturers get into the act by giving tribal names to their products such as the Navaho truck and the jeep Cherokee. In other instances, groups of color, the poor, females, and other ethnic minorities are not represented at all. These oversights are especially prominent in those formal structures of society that have high social and power status such as law, politics, and business. In other areas of society that are popular but of relative low status with respect to having power and influence in shaping policy (such as the food, fashion entertainment, sports, and tourism) cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity is far more evident.

School mirror these trends, and thereby perpetuate social class, racial, gender, and cultural inequities. This is done in several ways. One is relegating the teaching of cultural diversity and multicultural education to "special events," celebrations and ceremonies, and to what some people consider low status, "low capital value" subject areas, such as social studies, literature, humanities, and the fine arts. Another is the over-representation of African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and poor students in low level curriculum tracks (i.e., "general education" as opposed to college prep, or office and secretarial preparation instead of business management), low status courses (general math versus algebra or calculus), vocational education, and special education. A third discriminatory practice is the continued use standardized tests scores to assign students to gifted and talented, and advanced placement (AP) courses despite evidence gathered over a long period of time which shows most groups of color and lower class students score significantly lower than their middle class and European American counterparts. The only deviation from this pattern occurs with Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Americans whose test scores are comparable to European Americans in most academic areas tested. However, they do not do as well on social, communicative, and interpersonal relations' skills.

A fourth indicator and transmitter of racial, ethnic, and cultural biases is the resources and materials used in classroom instruction. Some notable improvements have occurred over time in how textbooks treat ethnic groups, but some major problems remain. The most blatant stereotypes and biases have been eliminated but, these materials continue to show imbalances in giving more attention to African Americans than other groups of color; over-representing males than females; avoiding controversial issues related to ethnic and cultural diversity; giving preference to ethnic individuals and events that more closely approximate mainstream values and standards of behavior, and presenting males in more active roles and leadership positions than females. Being alert to these patterns and trends is crucial to teaching multicultural education because textbooks are the overwhelmingly dominant source of instructional content taught in classrooms. Some analysts estimate this monopoly by virtually exclusive, with textbooks accounting for 75 to 90 percent of all instruction. This dominance increases as the grade levels increase, and as the school sites become poorer and populated by students of color, especially Latinos, Native Americans, and African Americans. In other words, the higher the grade level to more pre-eminent is the use of textbooks, and alternative instructional materials are more likely to be used in middle class, suburban schools attended by high achieving European, Japanese, and Chinese American students.

Practices like these create an academic caste system where Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and females are repeatedly disadvantaged, and European (especially males) and some Asian American groups are consistently advantaged. They violate principles of equality and justice in the rules, structures, and procedures of schooling which regulate quality of learning opportunities, and how they are distributed among different groups of students. These practices are analogous to the disproportionate numbers of individuals of color and poverty who are employed in minimum wage, entry level, and unskilled jobs in society.

Imani Perry (1988), a fifteen year old African American student, reflecting on her experiences in public and private school, makes some personal and poignant observations about the kind of academic discrimination even achieving students of color experience in schools. She tells of going from an upper-class private school where she was one of a very few minority students, into upper level classes in a multiracial school where she continues to be "one of the very few." In the public school she observed and experienced a kind of teaching that emphasized form, formulas, regurgitation of facts, and being well-behaved instead of learning significant knowledge, ideas, critical and analytical thinking, and creativity. Well-behaved meant "always taking the teacher's word as absolute truth and never questioning the teacher's authority. This definition of well-behaved is of course culturally based and can be in opposition to cultures of Black and Latino students" (Perry 1988, 335).

Perry concludes that this neglect of intellectual development is based on teachers' assumptions that students of color are less intelligent, fails to establish culturally sensitive relationships between students and teachers, and trains students for low-powered and menial jobs. Her assertions are supported by research conducted over a long period of time, which shows that teachers do, indeed, have low expectations and practice instructional discrimination toward African Americans, as well as Latinos, Native Americans, females, and students of poverty.

These practices were especially prevalent among students from these groups who retained strong ethnic identities and cultural characteristics. Several authors have written detailed descriptions of various aspects of group' cultures which conflict with the normative values, rules, and structures of

schools. Gay (1991) summarizes some of them in a chapter, which appears in the *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*.

The higher incidence of disciplinary referrals for Latinos and African Americans means that they are removed from the instructional process more often than other students are. School rules enforced more rigorously with them aggravate racial tensions and hostilities, and raise questions about racial inequities. A case in point occurred in a high school in Anchorage, Alaska. The African American students (mostly male) were irate about being punished for "hanging on the Wall." They could not understand why the principal established a rule that prohibited students from congregating in a particular hallway before and after school according to them, they were not rowdy, loud, or causing any trouble. This was just a place to gather and visit with friends. The students felt the rule was particularly unfair to African Americans, since the school gave other ethnic groups (such as the Native Alaskans and Latinos) a place and time for them to meet. No similar provisions were made for Americans, so they began "hanging on the Wall."

1.6 Pedagogical Plurality

The frequent and pervasive occurrence of these kinds of academic and disciplinary discriminatory practices in schools provide multiculturalists with persuasive reasons for many of the principles they offer about education for and about cultural pluralism. Suggestions for promoting cultural equity, equal access to high status knowledge for all students, teaching students to become social change agents and developing an ethic of human dignity and social justice come directly from these "societal and symbolic curricula." All students, not just those who are poor and from groups of color, are victimized by ethnic and social class biases in curriculum content, by the failure to learn skills for cross-cultural interactions, and by not understanding how the lives of ethnic individuals and groups in the U.S.are closely interrelated. Therefore, multicultural education should be infused throughout the entire curricula of all schools (Suzuki 1984).

Furthermore, eliminating discrimination and providing for equity in the educational process requires comprehensive efforts that operate at varying levels of complexity throughout the entire infrastructure of the schooling system (Banks & Banks 1997). This is why proponents of multicultural education believe that systemic institutional change to ensure the full participation of ethnically culturally diverse groups is fundamental to the effective implementation of multicultural education and reform of society.

1.7 Summary of Key Principles

From these values, beliefs, and behaviors related to ethnic and cultural diversity in society and school emerge several specific principles of multicultural education. They can be summarized as follows:

- Multicultural education is appropriate for all students, subjects, grades and school settings
- Cultural diversity is a normal trait of U. S. society and humankind, and cultural pluralism
- The close interactive relationship that exists between culture, ethnicity, and learning validates the need multicultural education
- Multicultural education is a valuable and valid tool for achieving educational access, equity, relevance and excellence for culturally different students
- Teaching culturally different students is more effective when it is culturally contextualized
- Education should promote cultural diversity in the United States without hierarchy, imperialism, or hegemony
- Educational processes should routinely accommodate and value diversity
- Understanding and accepting cultural diversity are the foundational bases from which to build social and political unity, and greater academic achievement among divers racial, ethnic, and cultural groups
- Educational equity and excellence are reciprocally related; the achievement of one is a condition of the other
- Multicultural education empowers individuals and group for personal liberation and social transformation
- Cultural diversity should be infused throughout all aspects of the educational process

1.8 From Principles to Practice

Principles of multicultural education are grounded in and convey some major concepts, which should be used to guide classroom practices. These are:

- Cultural equality - the right for heritages, experience, and contributions of different ethnic groups to be treated with comparable dignity, integrity, and significance in educational programs;
- Cultural continuity - Making educational structures and processes compatible with those of the home cultures and communities of various ethnic groups;
- Educational equity and excellence - Comparable quality opportunities to learn and achieve high levels of academic mastery for student from different ethnic groups;
- Cultural relevance - Educational content and experiences that reflect the backgrounds, frames of references, and performance styles of students from different ethnic groups;
- Ethnic identity and affiliation - Feeling of pride and connectedness of individuals with the ethnic groups of which they are members. These "positive ethnic concepts" are desirable educational goals to be promoted, essential to one's psychological well being, and helps to expedite improved academic achievement;
- Situational competencies - Different knowledge and skills for various settings, situations, audiences, and purposes. The development of these is important because students from different ethnic groups live and function in a variety of cultural contexts and with many different kinds of people, including their own and each other' ethnic communities, the mainstream culture, schools, churches, places of work, and recreation.

Efforts to translate these concepts, and commonly held beliefs about teaching and learning, into the cultural orientations, life experiences, social conditions, and learning opportunities of non-mainstream ethnic groups are often stymied because many educators either do not understand or

value the validity of the multicultural screens. They assume that when general educational principles are filtered through the lens of cultural diversity, their meaning is destroyed. A case in point is the common confusion that surrounds proposals from multicultural educators for culturally sensitive instructional techniques is used to achieve common learning outcomes for ethnically different students. This appeal is often misunderstood as either discriminating against or lowering academic standards for Latino, African American, Asian American, and Native American students. Quite the contrary is true.

Students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, who have different learning styles, require variety in teaching techniques to master the same academic skills at similar levels of proficiency. Understanding the relationship between general and multicultural education can help prevent such confusion, and help guide educators in their quest for ways to improve educational quality and outcomes for all students. This need grows in importance as the population in U. S. schools and society become increasingly ethnically, racially, culturally, socially, and linguistically pluralistic.

Several paradigms for pedagogical actions have emerged over the life of multicultural education for how it can be best-implemented in schools. Four are discussed briefly here to illustrate the range of possibilities. The first one is *comprehensive multicultural curriculum infusion.* This strategy has four major dimensions. One involves the range and scope of ethnic groups that are to be the units of analysis or study for students. These should be comprehensive, broad-based and diversified - an emphasis that differs significantly from frequent tendencies to focus on African and European Americans (Blacks and Whites), or to limit the study to ethnic groups represented in local communities (e.g., Native Americans in Arizona, Mexican Americans in South Texas and Southern California; Filipinos in Seattle, Washington). A second dimension of comprehensive multicultural curriculum deals with the type of content taught about ethnic group. It extends the range from cataloging heroes and contributions to encompassing issues, events, experiences, perspectives, heritages, and social problems. The third dimension has to do with incorporating content about ethnic and cultural diversity in all subjects and skills *routinely taught* in schools, rather than relegating it to special events and instructional courses, projects, or lessons. The fourth deals with the *placement* of this ethnic content within school curricula. It is to be a part of the fundamental *core* of subjects taught at all grade levels, for all students in all settings.

These approaches to implementing multicultural education also counter frequent tendencies to restrict implementation efforts to special celebrations (such as Martin Luther King Day or Black History Month); a few selected subjects (particularly social studies, language arts, and fine arts); crisis situations such as when racial tensions or hostilities erupt among students; and in schools or classrooms where the student population is predominately students of color. To the contrary, comprehensive multicultural curriculum integration emphasizes regularity, habituality, persistence, and inclusivity in making content about ethnic and cultural diversity accessible to all students regardless of their personal ethnic identity.

A second paradigm for implementing multicultural education is *culturally responsive or relevant teaching*. Simply put, it means matching teaching styles to the learning styles of students from different ethnic groups. It is based upon and develops the idea that curriculum content alone cannot effectively carry the agenda of multicultural education, especially as it relates to improving the academic performance of under-achieving ethnically diverse students. Culturally responsive teaching complements and extends multicultural curriculum integration. This is so because learning styles include a substantive or content dimension, along with procedural, environmental, relational, motivational, and sensory perceptual aspects. For example, including auditory, visual, tactical,

kinetic, and cooperative learning activities are important since different ethnic student are more proficient in the use of some of these for learning than others. The habitual employment of "multiple means to learning" increases the likelihood that students form various ethnics and cultural backgrounds will have comparable opportunities (e.g., educational equity) to achieve maximum levels of academic success (e.g., educational excellence).

Therefore, teaching to and through the learning styles of different ethnic groups is multi-dimensional and multi-modal. As such it requires the use of a wide range of diverse approaches to teaching, from how classrooms are organized, to the content and contexts provided for students to practice learning, to the tools and techniques used to assess the levels of their mastery of content and skills. Essential to all of these is the use of cultural contexts, examples and performance parameters from multiple ethnic groups to give *functional meaning* to abstract ideas, concepts, facts, and skills taught in schools. Thus, implementing multicultural education through culturally responsive teaching builds upon and personifies the principles of alternative means to achieve common learning outcomes, and cultural affirmation as a conduit for heightened academic performance.

Whereas the curriculum integration and culturally responsive teaching paradigms center efforts to implement multicultural education largely within the classroom and on the onus of teachers, *systemic infusion* is more extensive. It impacts every aspect of the educational enterprise. It is based on the assumption that curriculum and instruction operate within the context of a broader educational ecology, and are affects by its other features. Because other aspects of this ecology are more political powerful and have more decision-making authority, they determine what is allowable in curriculum and instruction. Consequently, they can significantly constrain or expedite classroom-based multicultural education programs and practices.

For these reasons, the systemic infusion paradigm of multicultural education implementation focuses on educational policy, institutional leadership, performance appraisal of students and professionals, accountability, and the training, recruitment and hiring of personnel. As policy it makes the commitment to and the practice of cultural diversity mandatory at all levels of the educational enterprise. For example, it may stipulate that no personnel with be hired at any level of functioning, from custodians to superintendents, who do not demonstrate a respect for and some competency in cultural diversity. Nor will any instructional materials, from wall decorations to computer programs, be purchased that are not multicultural. School leaders create visions, missions, and strategic plans for ensuring that the institutions under their tutelage manifest multicultural education through the images, programs, and practices they create and disseminate. Multicultural knowledge and skills are central components of the performance appraisals of students, teachers, and administrators, as well as educational institutions and systems. Thus, boards of education look closely at how well the schools in their districts image and model ethnic and cultural diversity, and as a critical measure of the overall progress they are making, and the effectiveness of the superintendents in charge of their school districts.

Similar expectations and accountability measures are applied to building principals, classroom teachers, school counsellors, other staff members, and students by their respective supervisions. Any and everyone failing to meet these standards are appropriately sanctioned. Multicultural education is a core element in the professional preparation of all educational personnel, and their competence in and commitment to it play an important role in their hiring. Thus, the key assumption of *systemic multicultural infusion* is that for its implementation to be most effective, *holistic institutional reform* must be pursued.

The last paradigm discussed here is *social reconstruction and transformation*. This approach to multicultural education is much more thorough and far-reaching that the others. Whereas the other three are vested in improving what already exists -- whether programs, processes, or systems -- at varying levels of magnitude and complexity -- reconstruction and transformation challenge the foundations of existing educational enterprise. It wonders if its entire ethos and infrastructures are not beyond redemption. They may be so thoroughly tainted by Eurocentric cultural biases, dominance, and hegemony that they can never be improved sufficiently for students from marginalized ethnic and cultural groups to ever have a fair change to achieve genuine educational excellence. It also places greater emphasis on the socio-political functions of education beyond schools.

These concerns about the depth and magnitude of the flaws of existing educational systems lead the proponents of this paradigm to advocate for a total dismantling of them, and the creation of new systems both within schools and society. This transformative process is to be guided by values of egalitarianism for ethnic groups, an ethic of social justice for them, knowledge and skill development for personal and social empowerment, and a competence in socio-political activism on the part of students. Intellectual and moral critique, along with agency for change are the foundational pillars and distinguishing features of both its instructional ideology and practices. It is committed to creating systems of learning and living in which cultural diversity is the new standard of normalcy, and really does permeate everything done routinely and regularly.

In this sense, the reconstruction and transformation paradigm of multicultural education is truly revolutionary. Its vision is illuminating and enticing, but very threatening for many educators and citizens. This is so primarily because at its essence is the redistribution of the power and privilege that are typically monopolized by those ethnic groups who traditionally have had unfair access to the "cultural capital" taught and disseminated in schools. Cultural affirmation, knowledge acquisition, academic success, and the corollary positions of status and influence, which they ensure, are fundamental elements of this cultural capital. For these reasons, this is the most problematic and, presently improbable, paradigm for the actual implementation of multicultural education. Yet, it is a vision of hope that should not be quickly abandoned simply because of its current praxis possibilities.

1.9 Conclusion

The implementation of multicultural education involves a complex interplay of teacher beliefs, knowledge, experiences, and skills; the availability of leadership, curriculum and resources; school and community context; the existence of a supportive infrastructure; and a plethora of daily demands and constraints of operating classrooms. Often when philosophical ideals are filtered through these "reality screens" the results are less than the vision constructed in theory. The situation is complicated further by the fact that educators are frequently placed in situations where they are expected to implement multicultural education without having had adequate professional preparation and training. All of these have implications for action if we are to make significant progress in translating multicultural education theoretical concepts, principles, and paradigms to actual programs, procedures, and practices. The need has been well established, where we need to go is rather well charted, and what we need to get there is quite clear. What remains to be seen is if we have the courage and conviction, the will and skills to complete the journey.

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2. EDUCATING FOR A CHANGING WORLD: CHALLENGING THE CURRICULUM

Marilyn Turkovich

We can only sound the alarm, again and again; we must never relax our efforts to rouse in the peoples of the world, and especially in their governments, an awareness of the unprecedented disaster which they are absolutely certain to bring on themselves unless there is a fundamental change in their attitude toward one another as well as in their concept of the future... The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking, and thus we drift to unparalleled catastrophe. (Albert Einstein, 1946)

Only 50 years ago in this now well-known statement, Albert Einstein foresaw the fundamental impact on the world of one major scientific breakthrough and warned of the need for corresponding fundamental changes in human thought and human relations. One could argue that we did not follow his prescription for fundamental change in our ways of thinking and - as a result - the possibility of catastrophic results of which Einstein spoke has mushroomed beyond a single disaster into multiple possibilities for disaster. Yesterday it was the split atom, which should have made us re-think our thinking and our relations with our neighbours on the earth. Today other conditions are challenging our ways of thinking.

In this dialogue we will explore some of the curriculum challenges posed by a shrinking and changing global context. What knowledge and skills will be necessary for citizens to learn how to live effectively in an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world? What needs to be learned and Why? Then, we will look at the role of post-secondary institutions in the accomplishment of those goals. First, however, I would like to begin with a brief review of what has been occurring at the pre-collegiate level of education in the area of internationalization of the curriculum in the U.S. After all, the arbitrary division of education into levels should not separate our concerns and activities when it comes to the education of our populace. (Hodgkinson 1985)

2.1 Involvement of Pre-Collegiate Education in Internationalization of the Curriculum

Educational institutions at a pre-collegiate level have been thrust into the issue of broadening the base of education to include more of the world for at least the last fifteen years. Demographic shifts in terms of the populations served by the schools, particularly in large urban areas, have created a realization that the world is in our classrooms. Students who represent linguistic and cultural traditions vastly different from that of mainstream U.S.A. have been increasing in numbers in major cities and even in smaller towns that would never before have been considered - or considered themselves, for that matter - ports of entry. (Hodgkinson 1985, 3-7) Both as a result of this nation-wide reality and because of the strength of the Civil Rights Movement and Bilingual - Bicultural Education movements in the 1960s and 70s, State Boards of Education and Colleges of Education have increased the course requirements of teachers in the area of multicultural awareness. Many states have a standard which requires of all teachers as part of their core training at least one course in multicultural issues and a number of hours of field experience working with people who

represent "minority" culture groups. The primary thrust of the Multicultural Education movement has been to impart to teachers and children a modicum of knowledge and tolerance of cultural differences. Even though obviously this could mean understanding of people from all over the globe, the major emphasis and motivation of this movement has been on understanding people living within our own borders. Throughout almost this same number of years there has been a growing movement known as the movement for global education or "global perspectives in education" or "internationalizing the curriculum." This movement combines the notion of cultural awareness of other people in the world with the study of global systems and issues which transcend any particular nation (issues like global ecology, food and hunger, economics, global politics, and refugees). The movement to increase global geographic knowledge is a vital part of this movement. At this point many professional educational organizations have now developed sets of guidelines and definitions regarding the scope and sequence of knowledge and skills which may be needed for responsible global participation. Robert Hanvey's well-known monograph, "An Attainable Global Perspective," has been thoroughly studied and used by State Boards of Education, professional organizations and teacher education institutions all over the country to develop new sets of skills, methods, and materials for teaching and learning about living in a shrinking world.

In spite of the last twenty years of work in both of these areas (multicultural and global education), however, schools are still slow to change the traditional curriculum. Topics related to cultures have probably been the most common additions in terms of new curriculum activities. Curriculum changes have occurred mostly within the area of social studies. The approach of adding on new units or courses, moreover, to fit in the multicultural or global issues has been problematic. Infusion across all areas of the curriculum is more highly recommended by the pundits of global education, but this kind of curriculum change is much more difficult to achieve. Most teachers need much more substantive background than they have now, before they can create such an infusion. Backgrounds in global literature, history, philosophy, religion, cultures and languages are critical knowledge bases upon which teachers must be able to draw. The teacher education gap in terms of global content is a serious problem. Some universities have offered summer institutes to teachers on world areas and cultures, but we have a long road to go, particularly for teachers in large urban school systems.

To compound the issue we have the problem of the failure of public education even as it has been in the past, to say nothing of the future. Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s numerous studies and reports have determined that our elementary and secondary public education system is in deep trouble, both in terms of basic education and also global geographic and political literacy. Even though some critics (Ernest Boyer, Mortimer Adler and John Goodlad) have stressed that the entire curriculum should target political and social as opposed to vocational life, most mainstream efforts seem to reflect the position of the scientific management educators and efficiency experts of the early part of this century. (Wood 1988, 174) They are not all that concerned about global or national realities except insofar as we are losing the global education and economic Olympic competition. The solution, they put simply, is to bear down and teach the old skills more effectively. Frank Newman observed that the crisis in education today in the United States "is less that test scores have declined than that we have failed to provide the education for citizenship that is still the most significant responsibility of the nation's schools." (Newman 1985, 31) As several curriculum theorists have noted, it is difficult to break out of a century-long trend in curriculum theory and practice from a concern with HOW to organize and evaluate in education and to alter our concern to a serious consideration of WHAT should be taught and WHY we should teach it. (Beyer and Apple 1988, 3) Consciousness of the definition and value of civic literacy even at a national level is

relatively low; consciousness of what may be required of citizens at an international level beyond the skills required to compete economically is even lower.

Nonetheless, at the elementary and secondary levels the thinking and questioning about the scope of the curriculum (not just the methods) has begun. Similar thinking has been occurring at the level of colleges and universities. In a report, now over a decade old, to the academic community by the Association of American Colleges succinctly laid out the context of the situation in which we too find ourselves when it remarked, "At this moment in history colleges are not being asked to produce village squires but citizens of a shrinking world and a changing America."
(Association of American Colleges 1985, 23)

2.2 Curriculum Challenges

What challenges do global realities and trends make to the curriculum? Several lists of new skills for the 21st century have been developed primarily for the social studies, but we need to think more broadly about the fundamental impact of the world scene on the entire curriculum. The Report of the Study Commission on Global Education notes that effective citizenship in the modern world will require both substantive knowledge and analytical and participative skills. (Study Commission on Global Education 1985, 17) Each of these broad areas (knowledge and skills) needs to be realigned with global realities in every area of the curriculum.

Several themes emerge among global education critics, which bear consideration here. We need to assess at a fundamental level our frameworks of thinking which undergird each of these thematic areas and form the basis of what we are now doing in our educational institutions. Each of these global and human conditions sets a whole set of imperatives in motion with respect to the curriculum.

2.2.1 Interrelatedness of the World

Images of the world, which frame the curriculum, need to be examined. Anderson suggests that the traditional images conveyed in formal schooling (i.e., "my own society vs. the rest of the world," "societies in isolation," and "domestic vs. international society" - a kind of split level view of how the world operates) are no longer viable representations of reality (Study Commission on Global Education 1985) Moreover, Anderson suggests, we need to teach about the ways domestic affairs are linked to international affairs in an intimate way. In a word, our curriculum needs to include serious study of global and international systems (including political, economic, biological, ecological, sociological, communications, technological and even aesthetic and religious systems). In this regard some global education critics have suggested that business and military communities at the highest and most powerful levels are already functioning with a sophisticated awareness of the globe as a single system. Our political and ethical knowledge of global systems by contrast, even at the level of government diplomats, is lagging far behind. (Hartoonian 1990).

A very important outcome of analyzing global interconnectedness will be a clearer understanding of our interdependence with others. This understanding is not just a bit of interesting trivia, but a matter of urgency in terms of finding a sustainable and peaceful resolution to global conflicts. Martin Luther King, Jr. alluded to the consequences of knowledge or ignorance of this basic fact when he said:

> Before you finish eating breakfast this morning, you've depended on more than half the world. This is the way our universe is structured....We aren't going to have peace on earth until we recognize this basic fact of the interrelated structure of all reality. (King, Jr.) Do our graduates know - should they be able to analyze - the relationships between our everyday lives as consumers (of coffee, meat, and vegetables, for example), national military budgets, global foreign policies, and the increasing gaps between the rich and the poor? Do they know - should they be able to identify - the relationships between our everyday lives and industrial decisions made in the Amazon? In Southeast Asia? In various countries of Africa?

Interdependence issues easily seem to become political issues. But, then, to make any choice in the curriculum is a political decision. George Wood reminds us that: "The curriculum arises as a product of choice: curricular decisions are political decisions.... We argue for a particular curriculum on the basis of our view of a just society and the good life." (Wood 1985, 166) Looking at what we teach about the interconnectedness of the world is ultimately a question of our viewpoints regarding global justice.

2.2.2 Global Transformations

A second challenge to the curriculum involves the necessity of educating a politically and historically conscious citizenry in a rapidly changing world. In addition to the steadily increasing interconnectedness of the world, there have been profound shifts in the world's socio/political/economic arrangements in this century, in the last 50 years, and in the last ten years. These transformations need to be understood by citizens who will be making decisions in response to those arrangements. Moreover, the speed with which radical transformations take place in just one year, for example 1989, alerts us to the fact that we will need to help citizens learn how to "read" changes and assess developments. Some examples of transformations which have occurred and which need to be taken into consideration in our thinking and teaching are outlined by Steve Lamy as follows:

a. Since 1945, many new nation-states have joined the world community through processes of decolonization and the break up of old states. These new actors - though often small in size - are key players in global issues;

b. The persistence of two major global problems, inequality and war, cause many citizens to challenge the effectiveness and viability of existing authority structure. The pressure for change has resulted in demands for smaller states and, in some cases, pressures to create larger regional entities. National sovereignties are not absolutes;

c. A global communication system brings the world to our living rooms in just seconds. The proliferation and control of information has, for one thing, changed the process of decision-making;

d. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of public and private transactions between nation-states and in international affairs; nonstate actors have increased their activities and become more influential in international affairs, often bypassing or creating new parameters for action. (Lamy 1986, 6-8.)

The curriculum needs to be examined in terms of how it reflects global political / socio-economic realities and the relationship of how to teach these realities.

For example, we need to look at how we portray the world of the Southern Hemisphere, of developing and/or small nations. Even World Bank representatives are now saying that developing countries can no longer be ignored as irrelevant. (Hamilton 1990) Finally, to understand the importance and meaning of new social or economic orders, the curriculum needs to be strengthened in terms of teaching history and a variety of historical perspectives. Perhaps we need to think of more ways global history - from many people's vantagepoints - can be inserted in an appealing way into the curriculum. While it may appear threatening to the status quo to insert others' viewpoints and histories, "dangerous memory" may be in the long run less dangerous than "dangerous forgetting."

2.2.3 Expansion of Cross-Cultural Experiences

A curriculum which has been predominantly mono-cultural, mono-national or at best Euro/Western centric in focus will by necessity be seriously challenged by the reality of the shrinking planet. Citizens will need to have broader backgrounds to understand people in their own communities and people in other parts of the world. Effective global and local interactions will require not only that citizens can communicate cross-culturally, but that they understand and value differing perspectives and patterns of thinking.

The curriculum will need to find a place for multiple objective worlds and an incorporation of those perspectives and voices up to now not included in the mainstream courses of study. Maps of knowledge will need to be re-drawn to be more inclusive of ways of knowing and people's community memories. This may not be an easy task because, as Elise Boulding contends, "intellectual training in the West is still rooted in the conviction that there is one developmental path to take, and that we are on it. This leads to a certain authoritarianism, both in teaching and in setting the boundaries for research." (Boulding 1990, 83) Thus, as John Brademas noted, this may be one of the most urgent and difficult challenges of our time, namely "the building among nations of the world a structure of relationships that will prevent war and encourage peace." (Brademas 1990, 1)

2.2.4 Expansion of Civic Responsibility and Participation

As the realms of citizenship expand from local and national to international levels, the curriculum will be increasingly challenged to determine and transmit the skills needed for responsible citizenship. Initially, this may mean that education will need to help to impart a sense of allegiance to the species of humankind, providing opportunities for citizens to interact more and become more consciously linked across national borders. (Boulding 1990, 66) We need to develop a meaningful conception of community and the multiple communities of which we can become a part.

Furthermore, as Boulding suggests, today's schools are limited to a severe technocratic rationality, which is not always sufficient for global problem solving. We will need to use the mind in new ways in order to think anew about time and space and other people. We will need to develop not only cognitive skills, but also emotional and intuitive skills - multiple intelligences. "With these three faculties operating in tandem, no culture can be completely opaque to another, no matter how different their customs and institutions. What the cognitive/analytic faculty cannot grasp, the emotional/affective faculty may reach through empathy; what empathy cannot penetrate, the intuitive signaling process may communicate." (Boulding 1990, 89-92)

Citizens will need firsthand experience on which to build a knowledge structure that corresponds to the real world. Ultimately in the global civic culture the curriculum will also be challenged to build a sense of environmental competence, social adaptability and image literacy (imagination). The challenge of the reality of global citizenship is in finding a way to integrate theory and praxis in the educational experience. Otherwise, as Boulding contends, even schooling - like an umbrella which keeps us from knowing when it's raining - becomes a "technological shield" which keeps us from knowing and experiencing the primary global realities of life. (Boulding 1990, 83-88)

In sum, the world condition in which we find ourselves is filled with imperatives for changing the curriculum at a fundamental level. These imperatives are not that new; they have been developing for decades. In spite of these realities, notes Robert Scott, President of Ramapo College of New Jersey, we continue to read national reports, which indicate that multicultural and international education is still a low priority in our systems. As an example he cites a report of The Joint Working Group of the Atlantic Council and the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs:

> The education most Americans receive neither fits them nor predisposes them to deal with the growing demands of international intercourse. We are, as a nation, relatively ill-informed about foreign policy issues, unfamiliar with foreign cultures, unskilled in foreign languages, and - except in moments of crisis - unimpressed with the importance to us of our own international agencies and programs. In the words of French writer Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Americans "ignore (the) world of human beings outside the borders of the U.S...." or of the Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes, "What the U.S. does best is to understand itself. What it does worst is to understand others."(Scott 1990)

2.3. Role of Higher Education in Internationalizing the Curriculum

Colleges and universities have a critical and unique role in the process of adapting and altering the educational curriculum to meet the needs of a changing world. Many institutions have begun to address these tasks on their own and several agencies have assisted by drawing up lists of objectives that need to be incorporated into the curriculum. For example, some key objectives are:

- To provide students with a sense of time and place;
- To challenge students to appreciate the complexity of issues and interests that bear on the relations among nations, regions, and power groups;
- To prepare students to take account of the new and changing phenomena that affects international relations;
- To "de-parochialize" students' perspectives on international affairs;
- To heighten understanding that international relations are not static but subjects to constant change. (Atlantic Council 1989, 6.)

Though each institution will need to develop its own process of addressing such goals, certain steps and tasks will be common to all:

First, it will be important to go beyond the stage of adding-on to the curriculum or investing all of the focus for international thinking into one department or series of courses. The mission statement of the institution as a whole, goals and purposes statements of departments or services within the institution, strategic planning statements of boards and trustees, curriculum review processes - all must be examined and altered if necessary to address the global mandate.

Second, leadership for altering the curriculum will need to be taken by each and all of the disciplines. John Brademas, President of New York University, gives the major charge for re-thinking the canons of thought to the academic disciplines. "Because at modern American Colleges and universities curricula are given shape and direction within the context of academic disciplines, it is to these disciplines and the courses of study they prescribe that we must turn if we are serious about preparing students to understand other nations, cultures and peoples." Brademas 1990, though multidisciplinary thinking will be critical when it comes to global and multicultural topics and problems, nonetheless, a first step is to work within each discipline. Sven Groennings notes that "To internationalize a curriculum actually means to institutionalize that change within the disciplines; this achieved, the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary acquire much greater strength." (Groennings 1990, 27)

Each of the disciplines has a particular contribution to make to achieving globally literate and responsible citizens. The Humanities, for example, must remind us of the voices, value and values of individual cultural perspectives. They must assist us in preserving communities of memory and in enabling us to understand the connections between language and culture. The Sciences must work to de-mystify the world of science so that decisions about the physical and technological world can become the responsibility of all citizens and so that informed citizens will feel compelled to take responsible action in protecting the earth and controlling artificial intelligence. Each discipline will need to ask: What is an attainable global perspective for undergraduates within our discipline? What is the minimum acceptable level of global education, which our discipline should provide to its undergraduate majors? In addition to reconsidering the array of courses and competencies it will require, each discipline will need to examine specific course syllabi which can be expanded to include global content, experiences required of students which may enhance their global skills and understandings, and the whole arena of research connected with the discipline. Paradigms in research need to be challenged so that maps of knowledge - theoretical constructs - can be drawn more faithfully to reflect global realities.

Connected to the question of the disciplines is that of the general education core. Faculties working on general education requirements will need to address the same questions regarding competencies, areas of knowledge, intuitions and attitudes which need to be addressed and achieved by each student enrolled on the campus. Core and general studies curricula should be subject to the same critical review in terms of the knowledge base and methods.

Third, the institution at large must make every effort to expand its connections and its students' connections to the community - at local, national and international levels. Besides modeling responsibility for action, providing reality-checks on theoretical learning, and giving opportunities to practice problem solving and decision-making in meaningful contexts, connectedness to the community will feed the institution in a number of ways. Sven Groennings, former Director of the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, remarks that one of the most important of these is directly related to the growth and health of the institution: "The record shows that successful colleges and universities are not static but evolve in symbiotic relationship with their environment." (Groennings 1990, 13) The range of community-based activity is extremely wide and limited only by our creativity: International exchanges, faculty and student research on an international scale, community action programs supported by the college, providing forums for public policy discussions, providing technical assistance to local, regional and even international agencies are all common examples.

> I wanted to work with young people of challenge. I wanted to experience and explore educational practice. I wantd to make a difference. Instead, it has been my experience that has made a difference in me.
>
> I learned the history of an oppressed people. I learned about the present day survival of a people. I learned about living conditions that are dehumanizing, environments that foster guarded hatred, overriding rights to innocence, trust, faith and hope. I learned of a people who cling to a rich and powerful heritage - a people who are proud. What could I possibly bring to group such as that? Well, myself. I began to listen, to hear, and to be accepted.
>
> In the beginning my arrogance clouded my vision of what I should be concerned with...one important thing I learned was humility. (Turkovich 1990)

Fourth, the institution needs to look at its own community of faculty, administration, staff and students in terms of its own diversity and the opportunities that diversity provides for a range of voices to be heard. Student and faculty selection criteria should be examined, and consideration should be given to the value of increasing the diversity of the institution as a community. In any event, whether the present community is relatively homogeneous or Euro-centric in its heritage, or whether the present enrollment of the school is relatively diverse, questions should be raised about ways the learning and teaching community can expand its "vision" and its "hearing" to reflect both American diversity and the diversity of the world. As noted by Landon Beyer,

> Incorporating those now excluded from the formal curricula of schools not only promotes a more fair and honest view of the past and present, it helps orient us to a future world that may be itself more socially just and decent. (Beyer 1988, 234)

Fifth, colleges and universities should assume leadership in including issues of global inequities and realities in their curricula. These should be confronted in a visible and active way through the curriculum. Problems will not be solvable if citizens do not know the truth and learn how to work with others to come up with viable, sustainable and ethical solutions.

Sixth and finally, institution of higher education - like educational institutions at all levels should invent ways to help students learn to cope with ambiguity and change. Beyer notes that in our formal curricula "we have tended to convey to students the notion that a consensus has been reached on most issues and controversies, or that most questions have been or can be settled by applying rational criteria and thus are not really controversial at all. Not only is such a supposition often simply false, it presents a world more closed, predefined, and immutable than is permissable if we are to take seriously the idea that full participation in the public sphere is possible and desirable." (Beyer 1988, 234)

Paradigm shifts are never easy. The old paradigms are comfortable. The new ones seem unclear and even risky. But - as is often the case with paradigm shifts, new ways of thinking at the academy are being created by "outsiders" - the economic community, the immigrant community, the earth itself. We in educational institutions could choose not to change and suffer from paradigm paralysis, holding on to a 19th century curriculum.

Fortunately, international education is becoming a centerpiece of discussion at campuses across the country. Groennings notes that, "Like the scientific revolution, internationalization is leading to a ubiquitous, pervasive and permanent redirection of the intellectual framework (of education). Yet, like the early scientific revolution, it is a disorderly development, lacking clear definition, boundaries, and agreement. It is a many-splendored chaos with momentum." (Groenning 1990, 29) We only hope that because we were willing to suspend belief and ask profoundly challenging questions about what we were doing and what was important to do, the Einsteins of the future

would be able to say about educators of this decade, "They changed their attitudes toward one another as well as their concept of the future. They changed their ways of thinking about everything and thus they everted catastrophe."

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3. THE PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE CHALLENGES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN FINLAND

Rauni Räsänen

3.1 Introduction

Finland has, in the European context and at least in its recent history, been considered a very monocultural society. The ethnic and linguistic minorities are small and their rights have been realised in differing ways. The position of the Swedish-speaking minority has been widely recognised, but the rights of Romani- and Sámi-people are still at the developing stage. As to immigrants Finland has followed a very strict policy and has mostly acted as the sending partner; large numbers of Finns have emigrated to Sweden and the USA, for example.

The whole monoculturality of Finland may, however, be no more than a myth if we expand the concept of culture outside the ethnic dimension and look at history. The modes of living are very different if we compare the inhabitants of the south and the north, cities and countryside, social classes, sexes, age groups, professions and people with different worldviews. If we go back in history, we see that Finland has been ethnically, linguistically and internationally diverse; it has had a special role at the crossroads of Eastern and Western cultures. Besides, language and nationality are not the only factors that define cultural identity. It also seems evident that the number of foreigners will grow in the near future. When Finnish schools become visibly multicultural, cultural diversity cannot be denied and neglected. When the awareness of minorities increases, the assimilation policy is not easily realised, either.

When we educate future generations for a rapidly changing, multicultural and interdependent world, we should also ask what kind of internationalisation we are encouraging: what its aims, purposes, contents and range are - on whose terms and interests it is to take place and what it means.

One also hears the question as to whether education for internationality is actually possible and whether one can be taught competencies for meeting and understanding otherness. It is also argued that prejudices and stereotyping are abolished with great difficulty among adults. It is true that many attitudes and dispositions are created in childhood, and changing them in later lives might not be easy. It is not impossible, however: an individual develops all the time through experiences, knowledge and action. Attitudinal changes are easier at an early age when dispositions are not so strong, but one can widen and deepen one's perspectives all through life. Paradoxically enough, our culture forms a solid basis to build our worldviews on, but it can also become a life-long prison if it is never questioned, compared or tested during one's lifetime.

In this article, I will first discuss various interpretations of international and multicultural education in general and especially in Finland. After that, I will focus on teacher education, multicultural sensitivity and the process of becoming interculturally competent, using the international teacher

education programme in Oulu as an example. I have tried to compose my presentation so that it contains some analysis of the Finnish situation and also suggests future challenges.

3.2 Many Faces of Internationalisation and Multiculturalism

Though internationalisation and multiculturalism have become a reality both in education and on a wider societal basis, these concepts offer varied meanings and contents both in public discussion and at schools. Very often language skills as well as knowledge and experience about other cultures are mentioned as prerequisites for becoming multiculturally competent. At present, technology and computers have also gained a lot of attention as means of communicating with distant regions and nations.

This variety of meanings also applies to schools which are visibly multicultural or which have, one way or another profiled them as international. Even aims and history can be very different. Originally, many international schools have been mostly elite schools with high fees, and they aim at certain cultural and academic standards and ideas. In spite of their international image, they frequently follow the curricula of one or two specific countries - the United States, England or France, for example. Students in those schools, however, often represent many nationalities, and the appreciation of diversity could be learnt and encouraged through studying each other's backgrounds and cultures. Ethnically, the schools may be multicultural, but considering many other aspects such as social class they can be relatively homogenous.

On the other hand, the history and position of the UNESCO schools have been different. They are usually normal state schools but have a special mission to work towards the aims of United Nations declarations. In addition to that, there are many schools, which have not defined themselves as international but face multiculturalism in their everyday work. Their approaches to meet and deal with the situation can vary from total denial to the acceptance, appreciation and integration of various cultures (M. Bennett 1993, 21-71).

There are also big differences in the range of internationalisation. Some schools concentrate on two cultures. For instance, in Finnish schools located in Stockholm or St. Petersburg it makes sense to get acquainted with Swedish and Russian cultures, respectively. In many schools, the emphasis seems to be on Europe, and it is one of the strategies of the European Union to include modules of a European dimension in the school curricula and guarantee the so-called European standards in schools. There are, however, schools, which systematically aim at a wider perspective, striving for global awareness, responsibility and unity among people and nations.

Interests in respect to internationalisation as well as the basic justifications for establishing international schools can be very different. In attempting to categorise schools in this respect Matthews (1989) has concentrated on divergences in underlying philosophy, which in his opinion leads to a broad dichotomy between 'ideology-driven' and 'market-driven' schools. The latter have usually arisen from the needs of particular expatriate communities or firms, or as an answer to trendy movements. The former has been founded for the purpose of furthering international understanding and co-operation. Hayden & Thompson (1995) divide the two philosophies into 'pragmatic' and 'ideological' approaches, which are close to the previous conceptions.

Cultures meet more and more within the same person - there might be persons from several ethnic groups inside the same family, and two to three languages spoken in it. People travel and reside in

different countries. The world and its different parts come to our living rooms via radio, television and computers. People should be capable of encountering other cultures and still preserve their own identities and qualities. Many taboos, such as the role of national identity in structuring one's identity, should be discussed when families live in different countries and have close contacts with various cultural groups. Knowing and understanding one's history and roots are essential for one's identity, but other elements besides nationality can be important, too: one's identity can be bicultural and have elements from several cultures. The role of multiple cultural areas in building identity has been neglected in society and schools. When considering such issues as regions, social class, religion, worldview and gender, Finland has not been as monocultural as has traditionally been believed. One must also remember that one's identity is not static but dynamic, and various components can be central at different stages and contexts of life (Noel 1995, 268).

3.3 Education for a Multicultural and International World in Finland

Education for internationality is mentioned early in the aims for the Finnish education system on different levels. As a concept, it is older than multicultural education and is based on the process of human rights movement. In the curricula for the 1970s and 1980s its scope was wide, including education for human rights, peace, equality, environmental concern and respect for other cultures. Growth for internationality is mentioned as the core element of ethical education, and emphasis is laid on educating citizens to have global concern and responsibility. Central content areas of teaching were stated to be training for international co-operation, peaceful conflict solving, tolerance towards differences, knowledge about cultures, the ethics of human rights, education for global citizenship and continuous interest in international development and its evaluation. The aims appear to be in accordance with as well as support UNESCO's recommendations for international understanding, co-operation, peace, democracy and human rights from years 1974 and 1995.

In the curricula from 1994 there is more emphasis on cultural knowledge, a growth towards multiculturalism and value discussions. It is noted that the future is very unpredictable in many areas of human life and schools should play an active role in directing and guiding the change. However, this presupposes ethical deliberation and value discussion in the realisation that all human decisions are value-laden and value-bound. It is hoped that value discussions at school create the possibilities for children to become aware, deliberate and choose their own values and deeds. The guidelines state that many present-day societal changes have been particularly challenging: among them, the new elements and quality requirements which internationalisation and human mobility have brought about in the cultural and value bases of society and schools. Open, many-sided perspective taking as well as active co-operation is emphasised in the 1990s curricula.

The guidelines for curricula do not leave value discussion and international education completely open. They state that the main contents of ethical deliberation and value discussion arise from the United Nations documents and basic classical values such as truth, beauty and goodness. Together with internationalisation, the curricula always mention the importance of cherishing one's national cultural heritage and becoming the citizen of a nation state. The conviction seems to prevail that the person who possesses a strong national identity is generally most capable of communicating and working with other cultures and is the best asset for an international world.

Respecting the diversity of cultures is the key to multicultural education in many respects, but it has been accompanied by the search for common ethical principles in order to guarantee equality and justice as well as peaceful co-operation and well being (Gerle 1995, 9-12). Human rights documents

are one manifestation of such a search, and in one way or another that is acknowledged in Finnish school curricula on the primary and secondary levels. The emphasis, however, has differed, and it seems that the curricula earlier were more idealistic and ideology-driven than in the 1990s.

Human rights are tokens of people's moral consciousness and the result of long effort. The Declaration of Human Rights was the first agreed-upon document of the United Nations and as such is very valuable, but it has been followed by many other agreements concerning children, women, migrants and minorities. The documents differ as to their scope and nature. Declarations are usually morally binding only, but some of the documents have been ratified and thus made binding also in the legal sense. The human rights process has not been easy, and from the very beginning it has been a history of discussions between cultures, ideologies and variant understandings of the relationships between the individual and society. At the beginning, the Western industrialised countries had a majority in the dialogue (Helminen - Lång 1987).

According to my research human rights documents are not well known in the educational field. The Human Rights Declaration is usually acknowledged, but successive agreements - which can be wider, more detailed and specific as well as legally binding - have received little attention in Finland. (Räsänen 1994, 177-192.) If these documents, and especially the dialogue around them, are unfamiliar, it is difficult to understand the nature of the process and its phases. Similarly, it is difficult to comprehend the difficulties faced when representatives of various cultures have searched for mutual agreements - to understand that what is natural for some people can be totally incomprehensible for others. Still, it is very encouraging and reassuring to realise that in spite of that, decisions and agreements have been signed - and the human search and human rights development have continued.

Human rights documents are the results of a long process, and they represent a valuable starting point when searching for a common value basis for education. Both the process and the series of documents are unfinished: the dialogue between cultures must continue. A multicultural school and world require that we also continuously test our understanding of human rights. In this discussion, the relationship between universal and specific has become central: which values and ethical principles are valid globally; which can and should be specific from the perspective of different cultures, societies, groups and individuals. From this point of view, we could agree that education in the international and multicultural world requires teachers who are citizens with global ethics but who also comprehend the specific needs and dimensions of various cultures. (Sunnari & Räsänen 1994, 149-162; Our creative diversity 1995.)

Finnish curricula-based models of educating for internationality and multiculturalism seem to follow the traditional concept of identity construction: first you learn about your own culture, then about your neighbours, then Europe and finally the cultures further beyond. This approach may have been valid before accelerating internationalisation, television, video and the Internet. At the moment it is problematic, however, because if knowledge about more remote cultures and global issues is delayed, the mass media compose images and attitudes about them, and it is more difficult to correct and reconstruct these images later. I tend to believe that in the present world we need a more careful balancing of various identifications. What is vital in international education, in this view, is whether or not students truly understand that - besides being Finns and belonging to ethnic groups and various subcultures - they are world citizens as well. From very early on they need knowledge about both near-by and remote cultures in order to understand that people are simultaneously similar and different, and essentially share the same globe. In spite of cultural diversity, people have similar emotions and needs, and a long history of humankind as their common tradition. Perhaps it is

equally important to encourage 'species identity' and global orientation as local, national or ethnic concerns (Boulding 1988, 64-74). Whether education concentrates on differences, conflicts and competition, or whether it emphasises diversity with collaboration, responsibility and care as well as solving problems peacefully represents a central issue. The guiding principle lies in respecting and understanding other cultures, but not tolerating suffering and violence towards human rights. It is important for teachers to analyse, for instance, how multilateral and comprehensive their ideas about culture are, in addition to what sub-cultures are considered in the curricula. It should also be asked how wide, geographically speaking, the cultural knowledge we acquaint students with actually is, and what are the justifications for its range and scope. What is perhaps also important is whether students have models of action in regard to antiracist and tolerant societies, whether students are encouraged to act on behalf of justice in their neighbourhoods and world.

Approaches towards multicultural and global education have been categorised in many ways, and historically many stages have been found ever since the need for considering the issues was recognised and assimilation policy was not automatically accepted. Schools differ in their approaches: they can be very ethnocentric and monocultural, can have separate multiethnic courses, weeks or projects, or have a more holistic and comprehensive vision about multiculturalism as a whole which permeates everything and is integrated within all aspects of schoolwork (cf. Banks 1988 and Gollnick & Chinn 1990). Banks (1989) has divided the approaches into five differing categories, which naturally may overlap in the actions of an individual teacher:

1. Teaching the exceptional and culturally different
2. Human relations approach
3. Single-group studies
4. Multicultural education approach
5. Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist.

The first approach argues that there is a corpus of knowledge to be learned, and deviations from such content should be temporary. Usually instructional procedures are assigned a lot of attention, in addition to making use of special education and the student's learning styles.

The basic belief in the second approach is that a major purpose of the school is to help students learn to live together harmoniously in a world that is becoming smaller. The human relation approach stresses the teaching of positive emotions among all students, encouraging group identity for students of various cultures and trying to reduce stereotypes, prejudices and biases. The approach based on the idea of teaching the exceptional and the culturally different usually emphasises helping students to acquire cognitive skills and knowledge within the traditional curriculum. Conversely, the human relations approach concentrates on attitudes and feelings which people have about themselves and others, aiming at more comprehensive curriculum change.

The single group studies approach usually concentrates on an aspect or group which has been neglected in society and aims at raising the status and respect towards that group. This approach involves introducing new elements into the traditional curriculum, making significant changes to what is normally taught and providing a profound study of specific groups as well as critical examination of their deprivation.

According to Banks, the multicultural education approach advocates total school reform in order to make schools reflect cultural diversity. It aims at giving equal attention to a variety of cultural groups whether they are represented at school or not. The curriculum includes perspectives,

experiences, and contributions from people of colour, low-income people, men and women, handicapped people. Its goal is to show the whole cultural spectrum of life in order to reduce prejudices and discrimination towards oppressed groups and support opportunities and social justice for all. Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist extends the earlier approach, so that special attention is paid to students' social awareness and particularly to analytical and critical thinking in addition to social action skills in shaping the destiny of themselves and others. That is why democracy must be practised at school, and Banks emphasises that in order to understand democracy students must live in it. Students should have possibilities to make decisions on important issues and to take actions to help solve them.

In considering the Finnish situation and the above-mentioned approaches, I have the impression that in school curricula and educational discussion there has been a shift from more global issues to the immediate context and more utilitarian aspects of internationalisation. In the curricula of the 1960s and 1970s, the approach had more social reconstructionist elements, and more attention was paid to equality and justice; in the 1990s the discourse has mostly concentrated on human relations in the classroom and community, knowledge about different ethnic groups and countries, and both the requirements and possibilities the EU offers for individuals. Language policy has been very important in that discussion, and of course the European dimension and identity. Discussion about multicultural education has to a large extent concentrated on nations, ethnic and language groups; questions such as gender, religion, world views, regional differences, city and countryside culture, social class and exceptionality have got little attention. The complexity and multidimensionality of one's cultural identity has scarcely been taken under attention.

3.4 Multicultural Education and Teacher Education

When Finnish society and schools have become more international and visibly multiethnic, the need to include multicultural aspects in teacher education programmes has increased. This has happened slowly, and it is my impression that teacher education programmes have traditionally been very ethnocentric. One would hope that teacher education departments respond to the challenge quickly, as teachers have an important role in educating future generations for an international world. They could ask, with their students, about the aims, content, methods, meanings and approaches to multicultural reality and interdependent world.

When planning and evaluating the more international teacher education programmes, the same criteria as before must be used, and qualifications such as creativity, innovativeness, reflectivity, concern for children, and basic teaching skills should be mentioned. In addition to this, special criteria for working in multicultural and international contexts must be added, and their development could be observed separately. This represents my special concern in this article.

Many writers emphasise that particularly when societal changes are fast and we educate for international world, technical competence is not enough, but teacher education should involve an awareness of broader social and educational issues in addition to a pedagogue's skills (e.g. C. Bennett 1995, Noel 1995). They note that teacher trainees often come from very secure backgrounds and have little understanding of the whole spectrum of society. They also claim that issues like ethnocentrism, power, equality, stereotypes, prejudices, racism and minority oppression seldom occupy teacher education agendas.

The other important requirement Bennett and Noel set for multicultural teacher education is awareness of how our community and background affect us. In order to be able to see this, we must go beyond names and birthplaces to the factors that have shaped our beliefs, attitudes, values and traditions. According to Bennett, cultural consciousness-raising is a process of bringing one's own culture to the level of awareness, which makes it possible to perceive it as a potential bias in social interaction, acquisition and transmission of skills and knowledge. Understanding this helps us to be more open to ideas and values from other cultures: not to see things as black and white but mostly as historically and culturally developed phenomena.

The third criterion Bennett (1995, 263) distinguishes in multicultural teacher education is developing intercultural competencies. According to her viewpoint, this includes intellectual and emotional commitment to the fundamental unity of all humans but, at the same time, accepts and appreciates the differences between individuals and cultures. Interculturally competent teachers are aware of the diversity of the cultures, but they know that cultures are ever-changing, and they are conscious of the dangers of prejudices and stereotyping. They know that if they do not make constant effort to see others' cultural attributes, they are likely to be guided only by their own cultural 'lenses'. Bennett emphasises that the key elements in intercultural competencies are informed empathy, role-taking and dialogue. Intercultural dialogue increases the understanding of 'otherness' and through the same we also enrich our self-understanding by trying to consider our beliefs, values and actions from a fresh standpoint (Noel 1995, 268).

Bennett (1995, 263) distinguishes also a fourth demand for multicultural teacher education: to develop a commitment to combat inequality, racism, as well as sexism, and all forms of prejudice and discrimination through development in understanding, attitudes and social action skills. She argues that acquiring multicultural literacy and appreciation of cultural diversity will not necessarily help teachers to put an end to racial prejudice, but emphasis should be placed on dispelling racial myths and stereotypes which foster beliefs about the badness or inferiority of different races and cultures. That should also include awareness of institutional and cultural racism in the world. According to Bennett, the ultimate goal of multicultural teacher education is to develop teachers who work against racism.

In addition to that, there are special pedagogical skills the experts of multicultural education need. They must be aware of the various approaches and of how these approaches could be implemented in schools and education. They should be conscious of the basic values of multicultural education and have knowledge of the aims, methods, teaching material and curricula. They should also realise that multicultural education and education for global awareness are not a technique, but a perspective or philosophy that permeates everything and influences all aspects of school life.

Developing societal consciousness, cultural awareness, intercultural competencies, special pedagogical expertise and antiracist action requires cultivation of intellect and attitudes, but also skills and courage. Teachers should learn to translate their philosophies and knowledge about cultural diversity and similarity into plans for use with students as well as in wider contexts. A multicultural school system and society both need teachers who are autonomous and courageous enough to tackle problems whenever they see injustice and inequality.

3.5 The Process of Becoming Multiculturally Sensitive

Most of the writing and research on intercultural competence has focused on identifying the capacities and characteristics of successful intercultural intercourse and actors. Little if any research has taken a learning perspective - how it is that people become interculturally sensitive. Still, understanding the learning process is essential for developing more beneficent educational programmes and for identifying factors that can aid learners during their intercultural experiences. Taylor (1994, 389-415) is one of those concentrating on the learning aspect, and he has applied Mezirov's (1991) transformative learning theory to illustrate the process of developing intercultural competence.

According to Taylor, when a stranger stays in contact with another culture s/he experiences transformation in which such an individual must look at her/his world from a different point of view - a perspective which might be in conflict with this person's values and beliefs. Intercultural transformation means a "gradual change in the internal conditions of individuals as they participate in extensive intercultural activities". Often some kind of culture shock is the core experience which a person must transcend in order to achieve a higher state of cultural awareness and self-awareness. Several stages have been noted in this learning/growth model. For instance, Kim (1988) explains the process as a continuous cycle of stress - adaptation - growth. Kim's theory sees intercultural competence as anchored in the individual's adaptive capacity to alter her/his perspective, in an effort to adapt to the demands of a different culture.

Taylor emphasises that becoming interculturally competent needs perspective transformation, which usually occurs either through a series of cumulative transformed meaning schemes or as a result of an acute personal crisis or shock. Our meaning schemes are like a 'double-edged sword' - they give meaning to our experiences but at the same time limit our perception of reality. These meaning perspectives are often acquired uncritically in the course of our childhood through socialisation, mostly during significant experiences with parents and teachers. These assumptions constrain us, but the perspectives can also be transformed gradually if the conditions stay favourable, and that process can be helped and initiated by educational programmes and pedagogical actions.

The outcomes of the learning process are seen in cognitive, affective and behavioural skills. According to Taylor, cognitive outcomes are seen as an increase in a person's capacity for perspective-taking. An affective outcome is seen in a person's development of aesthetic and emotional co-orientation with others. Moreover, behaviourally the person is able to perform many of the required social roles in another culture or situation. As prerequisites for change Taylor mentions - in addition to what was mentioned earlier - critical reflection, and self-reflection in particular. However, he points out that critical reflection alone will not lead to a perspective transformation, but it should take place in conjunction with action and discourse. One should explore, experiment and experience new roles in the other culture. It also means seeking out new skills and knowledge. Furthermore, the stranger ideally needs to be in dialogue with others, to get constant feedback. It is through a learning process inclusive of critical thinking, seeking out new skills and knowledge, action and discourse that the stranger interprets the meaning of his/her experiences and develops intercultural sensitivity and competencies. (Taylor 1994, 399-400.)

Although Taylor's theory in many ways sounds very comprehensive, there are certain questions one may raise. He bases his theory on situations where learners stay in contact with other cultures for a

longer time and experience the need to change in order to survive and cope within this context. Pedagogical situations in the classroom, for instance, are different, and that is why they make special considerations mandatory as to how perspective transformation can take place in such 'artificial' circumstances. Experiences, dilemmas and solutions have to be specifically planned and monitored. The whole curriculum should support the approach.

Taylor also suggests some features of educational practice which would foster transformative learning in the classroom. They include (a) recognising that learning to be interculturally competent is a process, involving a series of interconnected events, a variety of approaches and experiences over time - that is why educating should be comprehensive, diverse and long-term; (b) the creation of supportive and safe learning environments; (c) encouraging the trainee to be critically reflective; and (d) emphasising the experiential and participatory instructional methods. (Taylor 1994, 406.)

The issue Taylor does not consider is the role of the teacher/mentor/tutor in the intercultural learning process. This is one of the questions I have often faced myself when working with the international teacher education group. Another question he does not deal with is what happens if the values concerned are vitally different in the two cultures or between two people or groups of people. The ethical problematics seems to be lacking in his discourse, and still in the interdependent, conflict-sensitive world it cannot be neglected. In addition to intercultural competencies, international education should promote the search for common ethical principles. The aspects of development and the dream of equality, justice and a better world are essential elements in pedagogical relationships and action.

3.6 International Teacher Education in Oulu as an Attempt to Educate Teachers Who Are Multiculturally and Internationally Competent

We have tried to respond to the challenge of multiculturalism at the Teacher Education Department of Oulu University by starting a new M.Ed. International Programme which provides students with a Master's degree and teacher's Diploma, but also attempts to give special competencies and skills for working in international and multicultural contexts as well as taking care of multicultural education in schools.

The selection of twenty students for the programme (since 1994) has not been easy. Special attention has been paid to knowledge about society, previous studies or work in multicultural contexts, not to mention motivation. The selection boards also stated that they are looking for innovative and critical reflectors who would become active members of society. Collaboration skills were also given attention in the selection, but they are one of the areas to be considered during the programme as well.

One special selection criterion was to choose groups of students who themselves would be multicultural. Therefore the students' home localities vary from Helsinki to Utsjoki in Lapland, from cities to countryside, and the groups have representatives from minority cultures. Some of the students have stayed several years abroad, e.g., in Scandinavia, Europe, Saudi-Arabia, Asia or Africa, whilst others have no particular experience in working within a multicultural context. Foreign exchange students study along with the groups, giving 'extra flavour' to them.

Although the language of tuition is mainly English, students are encouraged to study other languages, and there are speakers of rarer languages such as Sámi, Arabic and Swahili in addition to

those competent in sign language. Geographically, students' interests also vary: some of them want to work in Finland in multicultural classes, others aim at international schools and development or research work in neighbouring countries, Europe or outside Europe. A fair number are interested in co-operation projects with the Third World.

One third of studies in the M.Ed. Programme is similar to that of other students in teacher education, one third partly similar with special orientation, and one third specially planned for the international groups. The special courses introduce cultures, educational systems and policies respective to various countries, dealing with multicultural education, global issues and comparative education.

At the very beginning of their studies, students take part in the simulation project called ICONS (international communication and negotiation skills), in which students representing different countries negotiate via computers and video in regard to current issues in world affairs. The simulations are preceded by serious study of the topics and of the represented country. Last year Finnish students represented Namibia, which was meant to acquaint them with the country and provide them with an idea of the role and position of a developing country when negotiating with world powers about world politics. The aim of the whole project is to open a global perspective and to show how education is connected with other areas of life. It is also meant to raise societal and ethical questions and deliberations from the very beginning.

Within the first two years students learn about European educational systems and cultures together with educational philosophers and policies. The study units include excursions and have visiting lecturers from the countries dealt with. Within the teaching practice, students have periods of work both in Finland and in other countries. The programme co-ordinators have especially tried to encourage practice in different circumstances at schools as well as with organisations and involvement in multicultural projects. The third year course about global issues turns attention back to world-wide concern and concentrates on human rights, equality, peace, environmental issues and development projects in education. Comparative education and research methodology provide competencies for research on international issues.

Tutoring sessions and studies in multicultural education are run parallel to all other studies during the first three years. These attempt to provide continuous, long-term experiences and reflection on different cultures in addition to raising an open discussion about one's professional development in a secure atmosphere. The tutors develop the programme together with students, collect feedback about its effectiveness and follow the development of students' orientation and intercultural learning processes.

Advanced studies include longer periods of working practice and a research paper, which is written either in Finnish or English and hopefully contains multicultural or comparative aspects. Most of the students have decided to do part of their minor subject studies or research data collection abroad. Some comparative research in connection with students from other cultures has started to emerge.

Experiences with the multicultural teacher education have been encouraging from many perspectives, although the theoretical basis still requires clarification. The students have learnt from the multiculturalism of the group and claim that the studies have added to their cultural understanding as well as widened their perspectives and increased courage and societal initiative. Excursions which have been preceded by efficient preparation have been especially educative.

Meeting and working together with members of other cultures help the students understand each other. However, it seems to be equally important to learn to notice the culturally-built dispositions within ourselves - value systems and ways of thinking which make it difficult to be open to new ideas and meet 'otherness'. Finding these growth-preventing constructions has often been exceedingly painful both for students and teachers. The two years with the M.Ed. International Programme have been full of processes for de-constructing and reconstructing for both students and teachers.

It is only lately that multicultural education has become part of teacher education programmes in Finland, although there have been recommendations by, for example, the United Nations since the 1970s. When planning international/multicultural teacher education the first concern should be to clarify the basic meanings, aims and approaches. Then follow the questions concerning curriculum, content, methods and material. The basic aim of international teacher education could be to aspire towards a continuous process of developing teachers' multicultural competencies and global awareness. This requires change in perspectives, critical reflection, contacts and communication with other cultures and new ideas, but also respect, empathy and caring about other people and the future of the world. Multicultural education is not just learning about other cultures but also about oneself and how to live with other cultures, to understand one another and to solve problems together. It is not only about remote and exotic cultures but about all people and intended FOR THE GROWTH OF ALL PEOPLE.

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4. JUDGEMENT, EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALITY

Pirkko Pitkänen

4.1 Introduction

In this paper I focus on introducing the theoretical-conceptual starting points of my present research; I analyse the cognitive and moral competencies that are needed in making judgements in a multicultural, culturally pluralistic society. Thus, cognitive and moral empowering in a multicultural society enters into the focus of my reseach. In addition to that, I am interested in looking for measures that are needed to empower the above-mentioned competencies by means of education. Therefore, the final goal of my research is to look for educational methods and curriculum contents that serve the purposes of developing multicultural education.

A cultural competence that is needed in a multicultural society above all is the capability of continuous cultural interpretation. We need both cognitive and moral ability in order to judge the real significance of matters. Judgements, however, are related to the meaning perspectives of individuals. Meaning perspectives are formed as a result of the primary socialization. On account of this, we have many implicit cultural positions, cultural self-evidences. We do not question them, because they are part of our world (and identity). On the contrary, in everyday life we make cognitive and moral judgements on the basis of them - generally quite intuitively and uncritically.

For all that, we often have good reasons to criticize and question our cultural self-evidences, intuitive views and attitudes. As a matter of fact, critical thinking and metacognitive skills are anchors of the personal empowerment[1] process in a multicultural society.

4.2 Empowering the Cognitive Cultural Competencies

A crucial component of cultural competence is the acquisition of cultural knowledge. Knowledge is a form of cultural capital, and the posession of it empowers. One of the greatest resources and sources of empowerment in schools is access to the kind of knowledge that is culturally accurate and has an instrumental value in use.

A challenge for multicultural education is that passing on the cultural heritage of the own country is not sufficient anymore, but the students should also learn to know other cultures. They should learn to see their own culture as part of the cultural whole; that their own culture does not represent the only right way of thinking but only one way among many others. In practice this means accepting diversity, tolerance.

Mere cultural diversity does not make cultures good or bad, right or wrong. Cultures that developed in various parts of the world have become distinct, because under dissimilar kinds of climatic and

other circumstances people have gained their livelihood in different ways. Thus, the important issues concerning life and livelihood have varied. For this reason, the value- and normsystems under different circumstances have differentiated.

Values and norms belong to the land of tacit arrangements and cultural self-evidences. Therefore we are often blind to them, culturally blinded, so to say. For this reason, we should, one way or another, get outside our own cultural circle in order to see the land of our systematic blindness. If we succeed in doing so, it may help us in relating our thinking to the fact that our culture does not represent the one and only world of values, but only one among many.

Does this mean that all values and norms are culturally binded and relative, each culture having their own? In the recent social-critical discussion, especially under the title of postmodern, these kind of relativist ideas have been presented. It has been said, that there are no universal criteria for good or right, but one way of life or a system of values is as good as another. At the background, there is a subjective theory of value: a view according to which the values are not determined by any natural arrangement or define will but that people determine their own values. Thus, there are no universal standards for values and norms.

A relativist is entirely tolerant. Anything goes. This means that a consequential relativist inevitably comes to a dead end. She/he has, among other things, to accept opposite opinions: as well as the opinions of a pacifist or of a war-fanatic. In addition she/he has to accept the restrictions in expressing free opinion; also, that she/he herself/himself is being manipulated to change her/his views. Thus, a relativist in her/his total tolerance has to accept intolerance.

Accordingly, relativism in practice turns out to be an untenable standing. We have to attach to something. As a solution and a valid ethical attitude to cultural diversity arises pluralism. Pluralism means accepting cultural diversity, yet everyone is still expected to commit to some commonly accepted principals. (see Kotkavirta 1995, 81-88; Pitkänen 1997a, 71-72.)

Thus, the starting point of multicultural education is not relativism but pluralism. The final aim is, that course from intracultural education to intercultural education would help students to see different cultural practices as answers and solutions to basically same kind of problems people have all over the world. (Latomaa 1996, 206-210.)

Getting outside the borders of one's own culture - either physically or mentally - helps to see the limitations of one's own thinking. Getting to know different cultural practices helps to reveal the cultural self-evidences. Thus, the pluralistic multicultural education should be - besides being intercultural - transcultural. The ideas presented by Charles Taylor are worth discussing here. According to Taylor, the blending of different meaning perspectives is possible. When we compare our own culture with foreign cultures, we cannot pin our faith on their standards or our own. To avoid ethnocentricity we must, with the help of blending the meaning horizons, construct a third point of view, where the cultural views of both of them can be estimated. Through this kind of blending, both cultures are open to critics and learning. (see Taylor 1985.)

The starting point of pluralistic education is the view that a human being as a physical and psychological being is, in spite of her/his culture, basically the same. In spite of time and place, she/he has to face many of the same problems in her/his life. In spite of the diversity of life styles she/he precedes cultural structures that are functionally the same and can be compared with one another. (see Latomaa 1996, 209; vgl. Gay 1995, 159.)

Thus, comparison between cultures helps us to see both similar and dissimilar cultural solutions and answers to the same kind of problems in human life. This, however, presupposes dialogue and interaction with others in order to outline alternative perspectives and to analyse the interpretation of one's own standing in different perspectives. (Mezirow 1995, 6.)

The aim of multicultural education is to confront with a critical mind cultural habits and values, to be free from dependencies that restrict the human growth and intercultural dialogue where sensibleness and validity of different lifeforms are being judged and examined. Thus, multicultural education can be described as a process that proceeds critical encountering with cultures and dialogue. We need a critical relationship with both our own cultural starting points and foreign cultures. (Latomaa 1996, 207.)

Sometimes this implies "learning off" what we have learned in the primary socialization. We need critical assessment of the presumptions that our beliefs are based on. Like Jack Mezirow (1995, 6-7, 17-37) has said, learning is about changing the meaning perspective of the student. A student's critical awareness of the factors that are steering her/him, i.e. the metacognitive skills, are essential in this educational process.

Thus, the capability of critical thinking is an important part of cultural competence in a culturally pluralistic society. But a critical examination of conventional thinking does not merely mean cultural evaluation but also re-evaluation of one's own starting points. Therefore, the ability of continuous self-interpretation is needed above all in a society of cultural plurality. (Hoffmann 1992, 155-175.)

The ability of making deliberate value and norm judgements is also needed: in addition to the capability of understanding the wants and needs of one's own also the capability to arrange things by means of critical contemplation to a hierarchic order on a maintainable ethical and moral basis. Thus, an important capability at an individual level is the ability of critical evaluation of one's own ethical and moral starting points. (vgl. Pitkänen 1996b, 30-31; 1996c, 26.)

4.3 Empowering the Moral Judgements

Ethical and moral questions have during the past few years been debated not only by the philosophers but also by philosophically orientated social scientists (Zygmunt Bauman, Scott Lash, Pierre Bourdieu et al.). I am very pleased with the direction of this development. Particularly the interesting ethical conceptions that have been presented by Zygmunt Bauman.

Zygmunt Bauman criticizes modern ethics for its endeavour to offer people a code for universal principles that describe proper behaviour. Individual responsibility only covers finding and applying a simple ethical principle that suits to the situation. Thus, it has been possible to leave the ethical problems unnoticed or pay them little attention as the regulation of moral behaviour has been included in the legislation of social institutions. But now the situation is different: institutions do not possess the monopoly for ethical conversation. Therefore, in the present postmodern situation the ethical choices and moral responsibilities have quite a new meaning. (Bauman 1996.)

According to Bauman we are about to move from the time of ethics to the time of morality. Morality can not rest upon universal standards because the moral responsibility is individual, not

regulated, not coded nor formalized. (Bauman 1993, 53-61.) The postmodern situation at the same time eliminates social security and justifies ethical insecurity. People experience ethical confusion and uncertainty in front of moral choices as a permanent condition. They are forced to choose between several ethical rules that are as well - or as poorly - grounded. This choice always means taking responsibility, which means that it is of moral character.

So, the moral responsibility of individuals extends in the postmodern situation. Ethics is transformed into questions, and when answering them the individuals use their own judgements, take chances, struggle with cronical insecurity and constant twinges of conscience. At the same time, they are constantly reminded of the subjectivity and relativity of the moral codes; the ethical decisions are not backed by objective standards. This dismissal of the universal reason has led to the privatization of morality.

That morality is accidental as life in general does not have to lead to nihilism. In the 'sociality' (Gemeinschaftlichkeit) can according to Bauman, be concealed the seed for a new kind of moral responsibility. Sociality is the basis for building an identity. In building their identity people at the same time build their ethical basis.

Thus, a world without ethics does not have to be a world without morality. Rather, the question is about moving from the era of ethics to the era of morality. Yet, Bauman makes a warning that this does not means, that the postmodern ought to be understood somehow more moral or responsible than the modern that aspires for universality.

I agree with Bauman in that the universal ethical principles are not sufficient anymore. We need immanent morality of individuals. I would like to - like Bauman - underline the significance of the moral responsibility of individuals. In addition to that, in a multicultural and pluralistic society we also need a discursive search for the basis of a common morality: we need the search of universal values and norms.

I also agree with Bauman in that our moral tradition is typically "close-morality". On the other hand, for wider decision making we only have universal ethical principles. This gives us a chance to escape moral responsibility behind abstract, general principles.

Accordingly, I want to call for the extension of moral responsibility to exceed the circle of our next of kin and neighbours. We need "distance-morality" (vgl. Jonas 1984). For this the moral feeling is not sufficient, but what we also need is moral consciousness and - if possible - moral rationality, the rational contemplation of our values and norms.[2]

4.4 Possibility of Rational Value Judgements

In my dissertation I looked for models of rational value judgements in the philosophy of Plato: on the grounds of the Platonic know-how of good life I constructed a methodical model of value know-how for our present use (Pitkänen 1996a; see also Pitkänen 1997b).

In a closer examination, however, the Platonic value rationality turned out to be somewhat problematic. Like Pierre Bourdieu, for instance, has argued, the rationality of an individual has its limits. This is why it is necessary also to examine those unconscious categories in our thinking that

restrict the possibilities of thought and determine our thinking in advance. (Bourdieu et al. 1995, 63.)

However, Charles Taylor e.g. does believe in the possibility of rational value judgements. According to Taylor, an individual has the ability to demand reasoning for given commitments and judgements, and the ability to judge them rationally and critically. The modern ideal of self-determination, autonomy, is based on this ability. (see Taylor 1994; 1995.)

I believe that in the judgement of values, i.e. the goals of good life[3], independent thinking is needed. To what kind of things do I personally attach the greatest importance? In this contemplation we need the capability of understanding our own wants and needs. The result of this self-reflection may offer a measure for practical decision making. Those things are first-rate which are appropriate for reaching primarily worthy matters.

The conscious setting of goals is important from the standpoint of welfare since things acquire their significance particularly in relation to ultimate goals. Life is considered to be good only if it goes in the direction of those goals. Therefore, the goals should be recognized as consciously as possible - and thus self-knowledge is very important in regard to value judgements.

When things happen as desired, there is usually no need for self-reflection. In any event, we occasionally get into situations where our desired destination is not achieved. In situations like that, we in principle have two possibilities: either we can try to change external conditions in accordance with our own goals or we can rectify our goals.

Sometimes the realities of life change to such an extent that we are compelled to reset previous judgements. In that case we have to re-evaluate our goals, make clear what we really want and, by paying attention to the external conditions and the interests of others, what is within the limits of possibility.

Thus, in the priority of goals, we must pay attention to the fact that in situations of conflicting interests we have to bring our own aspirations into relation with the interests of other people (and animals). The more moral abilities we have, the more "good will" we have in paying attention to the interests of the others.

In the Western countries we have a long ethical tradition for above mentioned conflicts of interest. In a pluralistic society, however, state of affairs turns out to be more complex: besides getting into conflict of interest one also may get into conflict of values.

Value systems of people living in the same cultural circle usually are much the same, whereas e.g. the views of Moslems and Christians upon some elementary questions of life may differ significantly from each other. Thus, the traditional ethics are no more sufficient in a pluralistic society but we need new kind of value know-how: knowing and valuing also the unfamiliar value systems.

4.5 Conclusions

In the focus of education in a multicultural, culturally pluralistic society there arises the empowering of students to make judgements guided by critical knowledge and moral vision. That requires both cultural knowledge and moral capacity.

While necessary, information about cultural diversity is not yet sufficient for true cultural competence. Students must also learn how to critically engage with the knowledge they encounter. They need to develop skills for critiquing the presumed cultural self-evidences. These skills have to be underscored by ethical consideration and moral awareness: we need to search for universal ethical principles and also the immanent morality of individuals.

New kind of value know-how is also needed in a multicultural, pluralistic society. We need competencies for knowing and valuing not only our own value systems but also those of strange cultures.

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[1] *About 'empowerment' see Kreisberg 1992, 18-19; Banks 1992, 154; Antikainen et al. 1996, 70-71.*

[2] *I regard moral as the immanent value and norm system of individuals.*

[3] *I regard values as goals of good life, as things we consider good and - either actual or potential - worth aspiring for. This does not mean that values do inevitably determine our life, rather they are ideals that lead or steer our functioning.*

5. WHOSE VOICE? THE NOTION OF REPRESENTATION IN RESEARCH ON ETHNIC GROUPS

Anne Alitolppa-Niitamo

5.1 Introduction

The intention of this paper is to evoke discussion on the issue of responsibility the researchers have when they represent "the other." "The other" in this case includes ethnic groups, minorities, immigrants and refugees.

In my own research among Somali refugees in Finland, my concern has been how to capture the complexities of social life and how to give voice to the multiplicity of local interpretations. Somali ethnic group in Finland is highly diverse in its composition. In my research I wish to avoid simple stereotypes and ethnocentric constructions of this group.

The issue of representation is tackled from two perspectives:

1 the role of power and dominance the researcher possesses in the process of construction and definition and representation of "the other";

2 the issue of representation within the ethnic group, which deals with issues related to who within the ethnic group have the right to represent the group.

5.2 On Construction and Definition of "the Other"

I will start first with the notion of power and dominance in the process of construction, definition and representation of an ethnic group, "the other."

Media has a lot of power in representing and defining various ethnic and minority groups. Newspapers, magazines, TV, radio etc. influence on the image that is formed on these groups by the consumers of media. In the case of Somali refugees in Finland, the role of media in presenting a largely negative and even threatening image on Somalis has been under much debate lately.

Also ethnic groups themselves construct themselves and define who they are and how they should be. In fact, often there is competition and dispute within the ethnic group on who or which group has the right to be in the position of defining the group, its membership, and its norms. I will come to this issue a little later in my paper. First, however, I wish to concentrate on the power and dominance we as researchers practice upon those we are studying.

Research on social sciences often deals with issues related to power and dominance. But, as Bond and Gilliam (1994, 1-2) point out, the research itself representing the way of life of populations is an expression and a source of power. Knowledge that has been acquired through the research

process can be used as a form of power to control people or certain subgroups of populations. However, this "knowledge," as Bond and Gilliam maintain, is often based on interpretation, appropriation, and exclusion. Bond and Gilliam argue that research in social sciences is most often ethnocentric: the "mainstream" scholars are integral agents within their own communities, and consequently, they are confined to the worldviews, categories, concepts, and needs of what their communities represent. Bond and Gilliam maintain that within these disciplines one has failed to recognize the intellectual and scholarly contributions of subjugated peoples. Often subjugated peoples, e.g. ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples, have not been even allowed to define themselves.

As an example of defining the other from the researcher's point of view is what Said (1979,1994) calls "orientalism." He argues that the research on Islamic cultures and nations reduces the multiplicity of Muslim cultures to Western categories, which reflects the cultural character and needs of the West, and which denies the Muslims their presence in defining themselves. In order to reach a more value free and objective representation, which would not be based on Western hegemony, voices of Muslims in defining themselves should be heard, and the differences in their interpretations should be an object of the study.

Subjugated knowledge, the intellectual and scholarly contribution of subjugated peoples, which is seldom visible within academy, can be classified according to Bond and Gilliam as either buried and disguised, or disqualified and marginalized (or the label used by Foucault (1980): "insufficiently elaborated").

The consequences of exclusion of scholarly contribution of certain groups extends further than to the academy in a form of distorted or biased knowledge, because it also exists as hierarchies of knowledge that might have important political implications for the social relations in general. For example Krulfeld (1993, 30) maintains, that the way in which refugees are labeled and conceptualized has a major force in how they are treated.

It can be questioned, if we, who are representatives of the "mainstream" dominant culture, if we have the right, or even if we are able, to study and define minorities. This question has been raised especially by members of racial, and ethnic minority intellectuals. This "doctrine of the insider" holds that only a member of a social group can understand the history, culture, and social life of that group. Merton (1972) proposes that this kind of epistemological claim of the Insider to monopolistic or privileged access to social truth develops under particular social and historical conditions. He claims that the polarization of the society leads to contending claims for truth expressed by people who identify themselves as members of a particular group. In this context, I do not want to go further into the debate on for or against "the doctrine of insiderism. I want to believe, as Levi-Strauss (referred by Merton, 1976) does, that with skill, precision, a sympathetic approach and objectivity practiced by the researcher, the experience of "the other" can become accessible to "outsiders." With skill I would associate, among other things, choosing an appropriate method for the problem to be studied. Precision would include being sensitive to the variability within the group to be studied. Sympathetic approach would mean respectful and equal attitude to those being studied and sensitivity to local meanings.

5.3 How to Avoid Ethnocentrism in Research: Some Suggestions

Stamfield and Dennis (1993) give some suggestions on how a "mainstream" scholar, a representative of the "dominant" culture, while doing research on race and ethnicity issues, should be alert both to how (s)he is using the language and how (s)he structures and analyses his/her research. E.g. the researcher should be sensitive to how the language of the mainstream academic elite reproduces the social order (terms like "minority", "non-Western", "us" vs. "them" etc.). Also, a researcher should pay attention to whether the design, methodology, and interpretation of research is based on ethnocentric vs. pluralistic and relativistic meanings. And, (s)he should be cautious with the analysis and interpretation of the data so that the outcome would not produce stereotypes that could prevent a sophisticated view on differential identities within the ethnic group.

Ethnographic method, which is based on participant observation of long duration and which is combined with some other techniques, offer, better than many other methods, a closer inside view to and a first hand experience of the ways of life of the subjects of study. With the help of ethnographic method, the researcher attempts to characterize the meaning from the actor's point of view. However, the use of ethnographic methods does not overcome the already stated problem: there are voices which always remain absent or which are disguised behind the interpretations, appropriations and constructions of the researcher.

As one solution against unbalanced power relations in research, Stamfield and Dennis (1993) suggest the democratization of research process: They maintain that, in research on race and minority issues, the subjects of the research should be included already when the research is to be designed. Also Mac and Ghaill (1989) maintain that, for example in research on educational contexts, it is necessary to place the students (the subjects of the study) at the center of the research, so that they are allowed to collaborate actively in the construction of the study.

5.4 What is Somaliness in Finland?

In the beginning of the 90s, Somali asylum seekers started to arrive to Finland from their country which was devastated by civil war. Currently there are about 5000 Somalis in Finland. Out of this population more than 50% are children and adolescents under the age of 19.

Somalis arrived from a society which in terms of social structure and ways of life is very different than what Finnish society is in those respects. In spite of the fact that Somalis are united by language (various dialects of Somali) and religion (Sunni-Muslims), the genealogical ties which link all of them to a common ancestor have also provided the framework for frequent intra-ethnic divisions. Clan-based groups have traditionally divided the Somali people into different clan families. Clan membership is based on the claim of descent through the patrilineal line from a common male ancestor (Lewis 1969).

The kin-based social structure has been replicated by Somalis in Finland, dividing the ethnic group into subgroups so that it has not been able to work as an effective interest group in order to alleviate the many obstacles in their integration into Finnish society. Heterogeneous nature of the ethnic group is also due to different interpretations and emphasis given to religious norms and due to wide variation in educational and professional backgrounds. All these differences divide the group into

several subgroupings (Alitolppa-Niitamo 1994). The division of Somali ethnic group in Finland is reflected by the fact that they have established more than 30 ethnic associations with various agendas. In the process of creation of ethnicity and definition of Somali ethnic group, one of the core questions between these associations is the question on who are those who are in the position of authority in defining what Somaliness is in Finland and who are those who have the right to represent Somalis in Finland.

The truthful and accurate description of the various groupings and clicks within the ethnic community poses a challenge for a researcher: how to include all the existing variations of Somaliness in the description so that creation of stereotypes or simplifications is avoided? As a researcher you are not looking for The Truth, but different definitions of the reality as they are defined by various subgroups.

5.5 Research Among Somali Refugees in Finnish Educational Context

In my own research among Somalis within the educational context, I pay careful attention to highlight the definitions, experiences and emphasis, 'the local meanings,' expressed by Somali refugees themselves. The study attempts to portrait Somali parents or care-takers and their children as active agents within the educational context creating social reality albeit within specific historical, and sociocultural conditions. The focus of the research is left intentionally rather open in order to avoid ethnocentric problem statements. While keeping my idea base, I let the perspective and questions to change according to what comes up and what proves to be important for the subjects of the study.

As I am working with the idea of including Somalis themselves in the research process, I have been meeting group leaders, elders, and activists in the ethnic associations in order to see what kinds of issues do they characterize as important and what kinds of categories do they use. But here I'm confronted with my second point on the notion of representation: who are the ones within the ethnic group who have the right to define the important issues, i.e. to act as representatives for the other members of the ethnic group?

As already mentioned, Somali refugees, like many other refugee populations that have left their country because of a civil war, are divided according to political (here: clan) lines (Alitolppa-Niitamo 1994). Also the relationship to Islam and its practices, as well as the attitude to the Finnish way of life serve as strong dividing factors within the Somali community. This means that among Somalis there is a multiplicity of ways of making sense of their lives in Finland. e.g. there are differential interpretations of the Finnish school system, the value of education, bicultural identity etc..

A careful exploratory research is therefore necessary in order to define what the issues are which divide the ethnic group into subgroups, what the groupings are and what their agendas are. Ethnographic research methods, particularly participant observation, provide rich and detailed data from the local level on how the members of an ethnic group understand their own reality and what concepts and categories do they use. In order to cover the whole social field and its various subgroupings, it has proved to be essential to find what I call for "detached insiders" as informants. This means, that the informant knows the culture and the social structure of the ethnic group and is regarded, and regards her/himself, as a member of the group, but simultaneously is capable to take

distance from the group and its subgroups and their commitments and to analyze them in a relatively objective way.

I suggest, that the diversity and multiplicity of an ethnic group can only be rightfully described against the knowledge on local meanings and the social structure of the group with all its subgroups. It is possible to avoid simple classifications and stereotypes with a sophisticated view on variation and differential identities within the ethnic group.

Before finishing, I wish to remind that acculturation into a new culture is a process, and consequently, ethnic groups, as well as their individual members, are not unchanging. On the contrary: there is a constant change, creation, recreation, and manipulation going on in terms of ethnic identities, norms, and values within each ethnic group, and within each subgroup. Krulfeld (1993) maintains that the rate and kind of change of culture and identities which is typical to migrant populations is unparalleled in cultural anthropological research. How to capture the rate and kind of change of migrant groups so that the creation of a static image on the group could be avoided, is another challenge for a researcher. Discussion on how to cope with this challenge, I leave for the future congresses.

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PART TWO: MULTICULTURAL TEACHING PRACTICES AND MIGRANT TEACHING

1. TEACHING AND LEARNING IN A MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT

Jill Bourne

I recently read in the newspaper that since last year Finland has officially become the world's most wired country, with more mobile phones and more internet connections per head than any other. (The Guardian, 1997). By the year 2000, apparently, the education ministry intends that every school in Finland will be connected to the Internet. "We see the Internet as our future " a government spokeswoman was reported as saying, "We're a small country, but this is one area where we can really lead the world. We have a high level of general education and a big hi-tech sector, and they've really come together on this."

I want to set my talk on teaching and learning in a multicultural context within in the frame of this news item.

The rapid process of globalisation provides a strong rationale for a reappraisal of the role of education in modern societies. Education systems need to take account of the increasingly pluricultural and multiethnic character of modern societies. We have to learn how to operate in a context where cultures and languages are in contact, and are changing through that contact.

Through the new technologies, it has become as easy to network with people of similar interests or cultures across the world than in the next house or street. People can choose to view a cable TV channel in their home beamed from China or Australia, rather than broadcast from the national capital city. They can choose channels devoted to a specific type of contemporary music or one devoted to world news, or can choose to play videos of popular films instead. The media influence, although globalising, is increasingly diversifying, as people are offered the opportunities of special interest channels designed for global "niche markets".

Across Europe today we clearly need to rethink what education means in contexts of relatively settled and stable minority ethnic group communities co-existing alongside, and intermarrying with, so-called majority ethnic group communities (with all their own diversity in terms of dialects and social and geographical cultures); and of both these co-existing alongside changing new migrant groups, sometimes traumatised by war or famine.

The issue is urgent. We know that education can be an instrument of social exclusion. Many young people have already grown up feeling they and their parents have been sidelined and marginalised. It has become common knowledge that we need to provide access to education throughout life, not only for those have already missed their chance, but for all of us who will now need to update knowledge and skills regularly. We can't any longer think of education as something offered just

once, at a specific moment in time. We have to rethink what education means in "lifelong learning" outside formal school systems. Already most national governments have accepted that education will have to be provided, somehow, on a lifelong basis of all.

I shall return to the question of globalisation, lifelong education, and the place of education in this context, later in this paper. For the moment, I will remain within the more familiar territory of school-based education for children.

1.1 How Racism Gets Legitimated in Everyday School Practices

Helen Savva (in Pollard and Bourne, 1994, p.32) writes tellingly:

> "Teachers say "But the parents only want their children to learn English at school"
> or
> "But the children in my class won't admit that they speak another language."
> Savva writes: " And I always want to ask: 'Well, do you think that might be?
> Just ask yourself why.' "

Savva follows this up a very telling example. Satvinder, who is 9 years old, attends a school in England which had previously paid no attention to the children's bilingualism. However, on this week, Satvinder has been working with a bilingual advisory teacher who has come into the school to introduce teachers to ways of working multilingually, to build on children's knowledge of languages. Satvinder has listened to a story being told in English and Punjabi (her mother tongue), and she and the class have worked in groups to represent the story as a drama. To do this, the children had to draw on their whole linguistic repertoire (language(s), accents and dialects). Satvinder had than written the story first in Punjabi and then English. She had explained to her teacher that it was impossible to write a literal translation, but that she had had to find different, more idiomatic expressions to make good versions of the story. She was able to point out some of the differences between the two languages, and so explore her knowledge of the two language systems explicitly. All these skills had been previously unrecognised in the teacher's planning for her education.

But Satvinder's bilingualism has helped her to learn a lot more about languages than differences in their formal structure; she has learnt about languages in social context, and about language and power. In the next transcript, Satvinder and her friends talked about their experiences of being bilingual with the bilingual teacher whom they have now grown to trust through her work with them. The passage is telling both for what it shows about the attitudes of majority children, but even more for what is shows about how the teachers' responses to them reinforce and legitimate the children's racist attitudes.

> "Teacher: Do you speak Punjabi more at home or do you speak it more at school?
>
> Jaswant: I speak it more at home like we come from an Indian family and so we speak it mostly at home 'cos like they're Indian and they speak Indian so I speak Indian.
>
> Teacher: And what about the children in your class, do you speak Punjabi to them?
>
> Jaswant: No.
>
> Teacher: Why is that?

Jaswant: 'Cos most of them are English and my Indian friends and I don't speak Indian with them like I sort of get shy speaking to them.

Sharan: Yeah. Sometimes like we are talking in the playground and someone English comes along then like we kind of stop and start talking English cos' I think I'm going to get the mick taken out of me and things like that

Teacher: Do you get a lot of that?

All: Yeah! Yeah! They start saying 'bard, bard' and stuff like that.

Teacher: What do they start saying?

Sharan: 'Bard, bard' 'ding, ding' and all that and putting on, making fun.

Sherekha: That's what J-does, she goes," ardi, ardi, ardi"

Sharan: They make up stupid words and that, and they swear and that.

Teacher: Do they?

All: Yeah.

Satvinder: 'Cos they reckon that what you are saying is something about them.

Sharan: They think that if you're talking in Indian and we look at them start saying horrible things.
Some of them don't even know what we're talking about then they go and get the teacher and some of the teachers will say don't talk in your own language because other people can't understand it.

Jaswant and Sherekha: Yeah, they say it's an English school.

Sharan: Yeah, and the children say to you there is no place for Indians in this school and country and things. They say go back to your own country so that people can understand you."

(Savva, in Pollard and Bourne, 1994)

Savva concludes: "It may be that teachers at the school would be both surprised and alarmed to learn about the overt racism which is the shared experience of the children who contributed to this discussion." (p.34)

The moral of this story is that we have to provide an environment in which children feel able to use, and admit they use, other languages, before they will do so. We have to persuade children and their parents that it is safe to bring their languages into school. To do this we have to work not only with adapting provision for minority pupils, but to reappraise the whole curriculum, in the light of what it is teaching all the pupils.

We have to open up classrooms linguistically and culturally - and give children the chance to teach us about what they know about language and culture, and how their different languages and cultures operate in relation to each other. We have to work with children, for example, not only in discussing the different formal structures of the languages, but to explore with them what they know about language prejudice and language, dominance and subordination. For this is not something abstract and theoretical, but an everyday reality for many minority linguistic groups.

Schools which have begun to do this have found out just how forthcoming children, and their parents, can be.

1.2 Learning from Children and Parents

In the UK, there is still a big shortage of teachers from minority ethnic group backgrounds with bilingual skills. However, on the Open University teacher training course we do get some such students each year, and we want to encourage them to draw on their understandings of their backgrounds as they develop their teaching style. We also wanted everyone of our monolingual student teachers (whatever the age range they planned to teach or their subject specialism) to develop their awareness of bilingualism, and to find out more about the cultures and the languages used by children and parents in their local context. As Basil Bernstein has so memorably said:

> " If the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child then the culture of the child must first be in the consciousness of the teacher" (1970, p.120).

We made an audiotape for students to listen to when they began the teacher training course in which we interviewed some children, who, although only 6-8 years old, showed an admirable understanding of language use. As follow up activities, our students are required to talk with children in their placement training schools about their languages and uses of literacy, and to talk to some of their parents about the sorts of literacy experiences children have out of school. We, along with many educationalists today, feel it is very important to set up projects which bring new teachers as leaners into contact with parents and the local community, who are the "knowers" in relation to contemporary and changing cultures and language use.

1.3 Extracts from Open University PGCE Primary Audiotape 1

Child 1: You are going to be shocked, but I speak English, Pakistani, Urdu, Geordie and French...

Child 2: When I wake up in the morning, I get up and eat my breakfast then I go to school. And at school I speak and write English and I speak English and Bengali with my friends. Then I go home and I speak to my grandpartents in Bengali, then I play with my brother and we speak English. After tea I read Arabic with my grandparents. Then I have my bath and I go to bed.

Dina Martin: My mother was very keen that we maintained mother tongue. So she used to spend a lot of time teaching us Gujerati, and she also used to teach us English, side by side. But we did learn how to read and write our first language first. So it was easier for me to move into English because I was familiar with one language, and could write it, knew the rules of it. So when I learned to read and write English, I could come back and find similarities, which I could then relate to my first language.

Child 3: I go to this Bengali school and write Bengali there. In English there is a, b, c and in Bengali there are some other letters....In school I write English and sometimes I take some Bengali books home and share them with my brothers or my parents and grandparents. Or else I take an English book and share it with my brother.

Dina Martin: A lot of bilingual teachers don't use their languages in class, because they think they have to establish themselves as a teacher in England in an English school. They themselves, their first language has been squashed through their coming to school, and this is what they've got to overcome. When I first came to Lowfield and started talking to the children in Urdu, they used to all giggle, they used to laugh. The Urdu speaking children used to come up and question me,
" Could you tell me what my name is in Urdu, Mrs. Martin?" They used to give me little tests, like saying something, then asking me "What did I just say?" But now, well its the norm.

Child 1: When I first started school in the nursery, there were other children there and they were speaking English and I was thinking in my mind "Oh my God, I am not one of those children" and then I start to cry.

Child 2: When I started from nursery I couldn't speak English at all. I could just say "Yes" and "No" and that's all. My brother he was 8 or 7 (years old) at that time and he spoke English very well - he was in the first year. When I went home I asked him "Can you learn me English?" So after school each day, he used to learn me English - write words down on a piece of paper. Then I used to learn them before I went to bed.

Link announcer: Finally, its important to realise that most bilingual children in our schools are British children. Be responsive to their languages and cultures, but don't forget they were probably born in this country and will have spent all or nearly all of their lives here.

Child 3: I can't really write about Bengali, because I was born in London. I don't know how is Bangladesh.

Link announcer: Children themselves need to decide the balance of their own cultural and linguistic identities in a warm and informed classroom environment. If you work in a multilingual school, you should be able to learn a lot about strategies for supporting early stage English learners from classroom teachers and specialists in your school. You will also get more detailed advice on support strategies in Stage 2.

We need to remember that bilingual children live in a context of **languages in contact**. Schools have to be responsive to their languages and culture, but must remember both language and culture change and develop alongside other cultures and languages. It is important to explore what being a Bangladeshi in London, a Vietnamese in Paris or a Somali in Helsinki means in the 1990s; and to respect the choices made of language use and of cultural identity in different social domains.

1.4 Cultures and Cultural Diversity

Kenan Malik in his book *The Meaning of Race*, 1996, argues that there is a dangerous ambiguity at the heart of multicultural thinking because of the emphasis on DIFFERENCE. He warns that "multiculturalism has become the language through which ideas of race and racial difference are being recycled". His argument is that "Racial thinkers have always been hostile to the idea that we can, and should, overcome the differences that separate us to create a more equal, more universal society. By emphasising differences rather than equality, anti-racists are rooting their arguments in the same philosophies as gave rise to racial thinking itself." The current multiculturalist approach, he warns: "overestimates the homogeneity and autonomy of the various ethnic groups and underestimates the degree to which all groups are reciprocally implicated in the creation of cultural forms within a common framework of national, political and economic institutions."

There does indeed seem to be a danger of essentialism in some of the talk about multicultural schooling - of seeing cultures and ethnic groupings as fixed rather than fluid, and of minority cultures as located geographically in the traditions and customs of faraway and unchanging lands. The problem lies in the setting up of unexamined monolithic cultural categories: the Vietnamese, the Turks, the Africans, the Finns.

Recent studies of youth cultures in particular (eg Gilroy, 1987) show cultures as global as much as being located in some "land of heritage". Farrukh Dhondy has written of young people: "Their culture is a day to day affair, an affair of the styles and fashions they collectively generate" (1974, p.49) He points to the example of the poster of Bob Marley, an icon in thousands of teenage bedrooms, White and Black. Young people are as likely to define themselves in relation to musical style or fashions as to a minority culture. The Black British sociologist Tony Sewell quotes a British teenager, Jeff, as saying: "I am a Black, English, Jamaican who has African roots and likes rap music. "Jeff, like many other young people, is at ease with this interpenetration of cultures.

Sewell writes: "He never described this as a state of confusion. For him, his hybrid identity was a matter of fact." (p.160).

It is important for those of us concerned with intercultural education, cultures co-existing in the same place and time, to recognise that we are all composed of multiple social identities, as, for example, women, academics, parents, but also children, voters, consumers, and so on. In a particular context or on a particular issue, different categories may be foregrounded, giving us a different sense of belonging, of inclusion or exclusion. In this sense, all identities are hybrid, and hybridity is the norm. Stuart Hall writes:

> Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, in transition between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixed which are increasingly common in the globalised world. (p.310)

We need to challenge the construction of the immigrant group as the "Other" in relation to a single, monolithic, homogeneous national cultural norm. If we are interested in intercultural teaching, we need to examine critically the social construction of national group identity, and trace the historical moments when the myth of a national monoculturalism was constructed. In Britain, the concept of the monocultural 'majority' and the monocultural State has been hard to sustain under examination. Britain has clearly always been multicultural, with not only its Gaelic and Welsh speakers, but moments when French was the dominant language, and with the influences of Roman and Viking rulers, Flemish traders and Dutch printers imprinted on the language and in the place names handed down. In other countries, for a period after achieving political independence, the myth of monoculturalism provides a space to create bonds of unity among people with disparate historical backgrounds. Narratives of the nation are constructed: stories, histories, images and rituals - often newly created for the purpose. But on closer inspection, and with an eye to history,the diversity and heterogeneity within the State is usually quickly perceived. Fossilised, the myth of an essential national character acts as a device to exclude newer cultural groupings within the country, naturalising the distribution of power and status within it. As Benedict Anderson (1983) has argued, the nation is an "imagined community", constructed through narratives which allow us to think of ourselves as part of a pure, original people, or folk, when in fact all modern nations are cultural hybrids, mainly of 19th century making.

In the same way, seeing the 'heritage cultures" of migrant groups as closed, ethnically pure, and culturally traditional, untouched by globalising processes, is equally a fantasy. For people who have been dispersed from their homelands, identity formation cuts across national frontiers and geographical barriers. My colleague from the Open University, Stuart Hall, has written:

> "Such people retain strong links with their places of origin and their traditions, but they are without the illusion of a return to the past ....they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures." (ibid)

This recognition of the fluidity of identity, this interpenetration of cultures as they co-exist, this awareness of the processes of globalisation, should help us to skirt the dangerous ambiguities of multi-culturalism that Kenan warns of, by examining educational processes to ensure that they lead to greater equality, with a focus on the universal rather than difference. However, this is not to suggest that forms of knowledge, skills and competences are 'neutral'. Once more as Stuart Hall has written:

> Every curriculum is constituted through a set of emphases and exclusions and everyone is short through and predicated on certain values. The question is, which values? What emphases? Whose exclusions? There is no

> escape into nature from the tough and difficult business of designing a curriculum for a specific set of social purposes. (Hall 983)

It is becoming more and more clear that rethinking of education in an intercultural contexts needs to take place within the overarching context of the reform and improvement of educational systems as a whole towards meeting the needs and raising the aspirations and attainments of all the pupils within them.

1.5 Some Implications of School Effectiveness Research

Research within the school effectiveness paradigm is making an increasing contribution here. For example, Creemers (1992) in the Netherlands, presents evidence that pupils achieve more successfully in schools of the type he defines as "culturally integrative": that is, schools categorised, among other features, by attempts to bridge the gap between school and home environment. Research by Hoffman (1994) reports finding of low achievement correlating with special 'withdrawal' programmes for children of minority ethnic group background. At the same time he finds positive values where schools have recognised diversity in their ethnic intake and changed their whole school or regular curriculum to reflect this. He also found positive associations with the involvement of parents and with the organisation of extra-curricular activities (including language 'clubs' and lessons) outside school hours. The importance of parental and community involvement is echoes in a stream of research in the USA (See the resource attached to the report of the TESOL Task Force on Partnerships with Linguistic Minority Communities 1995-6, TESOL, 1996).

There exists a strong body of research identifying key factors underlying school effectiveness, where effectiveness if defined in terms of the success in attainment by pupils. Some such as those identified by Scheerens (1992) seem universal: order, security, structured teaching, high expectations. However, the ways in which such key factors are *realised* in the school and classroom may vary considerably, and it seemed possible that different realisation and ways of implementing such goals will have different outcomes for different pupil groups. A number of approaches to studying school effectiveness (Nuttall, Goldstein et al, 1989; Reynolds and Cuttance, 1992) argue that it is no longer tenable to hold that schools are equally effective or ineffective for the different pupil sub-groups within them, but there are different school effects for children of different ethnic groups, gender and social class within the same school.

Even where certain effects seem key, there may not be one simple recipe for achieving them, but some effects may be generated differently in different contexts, and in relation to the stage of development (or history) of the particular school. This suggested the necessity of examining, and analysing in detail the dynamics of, and interactions of initiatives in, individual school contexts.

1.6 My Current Research Project

Over the past months I have been leading a national study for the national government on "Teaching and learning strategies in multi-ethnic schools". We set out to examine in detail a number of multi-ethnic schools where pupils were successful in reaching high level of attainment. Evidence of success in attainment was derived from national curriculum test results at the different key stages and school leaving examinations. Using qualitative methods, our aim is to identify key features within these schools, and analyse how far these might be transferable between different schools

with different intakes and in different contexts. The objective was to shift the focus from problematising the minority groups themselves to concentrate instead on the school and classroom, learning what might be done there to raise levels of attainment.

Between 20 to 30 schools were initially selected, across the different age phases, before detailed case studies were carried out in 6 schools. Focus groups were set up for discussions with pupils, teachers, parents and local community leaders.

Some findings in broad outline from the first stage of the project were:

- Successful schools know their pupils: they focus on what in means to be a member of that community in the local context;
- Successful schools have high expectations of pupils and of teachers;
- Successful schools have a sense of a shared school culture, and strong leadership; (although that culture may be very different in different contexts);
- Successful school have very explicit rules and make clear their expectations for behaviour, so there can be no confusion;
- In successful schools all the teachers have worked together to consider the needs of a multi-ethnic pupil population in planning the curriculum and developing banks of resources; they have not left this to "special" teachers;
- Successful schools have strategies for close contact and communication with parents and communities;
- Most successful schools monitor attainment through tracking individuals as well as monitoring by ethnic group;
- Most successful schools set explicit targets for school improvement, and monitor their progress towards it.

The focus then, is on whole school change and development, and an even more radical attempt to change the context of schooling by the more active presence and involvement of parents and the local communities within it. Within the second stage we are looking closely at processes of teaching and learning within individual schools and classrooms in relation to their pupil intake and the local community.

1.7 Learning in the Community, Learning with the Community

In my next example I want to give an example of community involvement and participation in the curriculum - with the recognition that "culture" is not a static phenomenon, but a living and changing phenomenon within a local community.

The school is one where the majority of pupils are Punjabi speaking of Pakistani family origin, in the North of England. The community is a close and established one, and most of the children are third generation, although there are occasional new arrivals. In this example, the third teacher was a bilingual teacher recruited and trained from the local minority group community. She operated bilingually in the classroom, supporting children's learning using both Punjabi and in English, as appropriate.

The school policy was to take learning out into the city as much as possible, as well as to bring a range of people, experts in different fields, into the school. A project was set up for these 9 year

olds to study "Our environment". They first mapped, and then set to work to find out about the history and contemporary working life of the area around the school. They decided to interview local shopkeepers. First they worked with their teachers on developing semi-structured questionnaire. The teachers pointed out that some of the shopkeepers would be Punjabi speakers, so some of the children worked on developing Punjabi questionnaires. The children had to think hard about appropriate language to use, as well as useful questions to ask. Incidentally, the accompanying English mother tongue teacher was coached in appropriate forms of greeting in Punjabi by the children, and used these in introducing himself at the beginning of some interviews, clearly legitimating the use of the mother tongue for the children accompanying him.

Once the questions were devised, the children decided what their different roles would be. As well as the interviewers, some children were allocated roles working the tape recorders and taking photographs to keep a record of the investigation. Leaving two teachers covering the rest of the class, small groups of children were taken in turn out into the neighbouring streets to carry out the interviews. Interviewing these unknown adults forced the children to speak out clearly in English, to get their questions across to butchers, bakers and other shopkeepers. In this way it was very useful for developing their use of standard English.

But, sure enough, some of the shopkeepers turned out to be less comfortable in English than in Punjabi. In these cases, it was salutary for the accompanying teachers to watch the children's bilingual skills coming into play, as they negotiated their languages, and tactfully switched. And at these points, the linguistic skills of one girl who had only just arrived in England from the Punjab, and spoke little English, came to the fore, as she took command of the interview when the more specialist vocabulary needed to discuss making furniture caused other British born bilingual speakers to falter.

With other shopkeepers, in this long settled minority community, local mixed forms of Punjabi and English were more natural and appropriate, and the children showed themselves adept in using them to communicate. Romaine (1989) points out that there is increasing evidence to indicate that this mixed mode of speaking services important functions in the communities where it is used, and that it is not random. Code mixing and switching should, sociolinguists tell us, be seen positively as 'cross-linguistic' influence, and as skilled communicative strategies.

Back in the school, the children first excitedly reported back their finding, in English and Punjabi, to the two teachers, one bilingual, who had not accompanied them on the trip. Then they worked in groups to write up their interviews, using and replaying the tape recorded interviews. The English interviews were written up, with accompanying photographs, in English; the Punjabi interviews in Urdu with English translations, with the help of the bilingual teacher. The work joined a growing display, using both languages, around the walls of the classroom. Later, different community workers and local historians, again both English and Punjabi speaking, came into the school to talk about changes in patterns of life and work in the area, and to demonstrate local manufacturing and domestic skills.

"Our local environment" as a topic in a multicultural community can easily be shown to offer opportunities for introducing cultural and linguistic diversity, GIVING PUPILS THE CHANCE TO EXPLORE and reflect on, at a level appropriate to their age, the living cultures around them and their interconnection. The point is that such work is absolutely not tokenistic, but offers genuine and challenging educational opportunities: cognitive, social and linguistic.

What this example illustrates is a way of taking the school into the community and bringing the community into the classroom, in order to break the cycle of marginalisation of ethnic minorities in schooling processes. It also illustrates one of the key features of school success with minority communities: what is called in the literature (Foster, 1991, Callender, 1997) "CONNECTEDNESS" - the quality and depth of the relationship between teachers and their pupils, the mutual trust which is developed between school and the community.

Of course, education cannot make up for a discriminatory political context nor for gross inequalities of power between languages. But schools are not only mirrors of society, they can also be places of resistance. One way of resisting is to set programmes for the teaching of minority groups within wider educational programmes for all children.

1.8 Policy for a Multilingual City

I want to take as my next example the case of Sheffield, a city in the north of England, once a great steelmaking industrial town, now coping with the transition to post-industrial status. High unemployment has left its mark, but Sheffield is a politically vibrant city, with a strong emphasis on maintaining and developing community values, creating possibilities for jobs and for leisure, and emphasising the participation of local people in managing necessary change.

It does not have a large population of minority ethnic groups; just 5-6 per cent of adults in the City are bilingual, and 8-9 per cent of the pupil population. But a recent survey found 50 different languages spoken in the city - with 6 languages having over several hundred speakers each. The principal languages are English, Urdu/Punjabi (60 per cent of all the bilingual pupils), Bengali, Creole/Patois, Somali, Arabic, Polish, Cantonese, Pushto and Spanish.

In 1988, Sheffield Council put through Committee a language policy which gave official recognition to all the minority languages spoken in the city as "Sheffield languages", not alien, not foreign, but belonging to the community and so belonging to the whole community.

The Multilingual City project sets out to create a new culture in the city towards learning world languages. It aims to help all its young people, especially the disadvantaged working class White community, by establishing a coherent policy across the city, in and out of school,and across age phases, for the teching of world languages. This entails linking schools, universities and voluntary community languages teaching associations to work together in training teachers:

- the introduction of language teaching into all nursery and primary schools;
- language skills development in job centres for unemployed job seekers;
- language projects developed with (and funded by) local businesses.

It has brought an influx of language talent into schools by bringing unemployed school leavers from linguistic minority group backgrounds into schools and colleges to work as language assistants to help both with children and to work in language and literacy classes for parents.

New technology has been seen as essential to the process, with two interactive multimedia centres being set up, one mainly for schools, the other, in the city centre, mainly for community groups. In these centres, as in many schools, participants are encouraged to contact other speakers of the languages being learnt across Europe, wherever they are located. So children studying French,

Turkish or Arabic whether as a first or second language can, ideally, communicate with French, Turkish or Arabic speakers across different countries or in the school down the road, discussing and comparing their experiences. (French speakers will of course include the many French Mauritians both in France and settled in England.)

Ahmed Gurnah, the project leader, writes: "The vision seek to promote here is a city where young people are preparing for the future in Europe and further with increasing confidence, showing a willingness to work and trade abroad, and in the process opening Sheffield up to new and challenging experience (Gurnah, 1996)"

Strategic alliances are also helping to develop accreditation structures for wide range of languages so that learners' achievements are recognised and recognised certificates can be granted. For example, an accreditation scheme for the Somali language is currently being developed, which could be further developed to have wider application in meeting the needs of Somali speakers across Europe.

1.9 Open and Lifelong Learning

Today, in countries like Finland, there is a superb opportunity to take up and make use of the opportunity for a modern link to electronic communications for every school and other types of education centres to take forward language learning goals. We can link scattered numbers of particular cultural groups or different language speakers to one teacher, somewhere else in the city or anywhere in the world. We can join groups of Turkish or Somali speakers and learners in schools across Europe, Arabic speakers across the world, and connect them to teachers trained in the use of electronic communications and computer assisted language learning. We could work on possibilities of developing satellite links until video conferencing by computer modem becomes widespread and easier.

As the musician Alberto Gil has said: for many young people today it is **not cultural roots that are important, but cultural aerials**. In attempting to provide an education which is responsive to the reality of the lived life of our students, we have to take this seriously. We cannot recycle the stereotypes of saris, samosas and steel-bands, and call this multicultural teaching, attempting to fix the identities of our students in "heritage" cultures like files in amber. Nor can we persist in seeing minority groups as 'victims' rather than as people actively engaged in constructing new lives for themselves in a global context, integrating what they find valuable about their past lives within the possibilities open to them in the new.

Global communications are already part of human experience in a way once thought impossible, and the worlds and its patterns of trade and exchange are changing on a scale that defies prediction. The necessity of finding strategies for lifelong learning in tomorrow's world may help to remind us that many people in our society have been marginalised already, missing their schooling through migration, war, or have suffered from wasted years in failing schools. In 1994 UNESCO called on member states to establish a programme called "Learning without frontiers" to reach new target groups of the previously excluded. The Director General, Federico Mayor, argued that the greatest impediment to development is "the overwhelming emphasis that nearly all societies continue to place on formal education to the neglect of informal and non-formal education", especially for out of school youths and for adults. He called for provision which included innovative use of new

technologies in shopping centres, cafes and in the workplace, this provision needing to be multi-ethnic and multilingual to take account of the multi-ethnic nature of society.

Lifelong education, then, seems to mean breaking down barriers between formal and informal education; the involvement of parents, the community, and the youth; the use of new technologies to provide the resource to reach large numbers of shared language speakers, although dispersed widely across national boundaries through materials on the internet and online teaching. In this way courses could be provided in peoples' own languages, and dialects if necessary, giving them capacity to learn in their own language but with this the confidence to move on to an increasing knowledge of other languages.

As Albert Einstein once said: in moments of crisis and challenge, only imagination is more important than knowledge to break out of the vicious circles in which we live. Of course new technologies are not a panacea for empowering minorities and countering racism. However, they do offer a metaphor for envisaging the flexible cultures of the diaspora, diverse communities at ease with themselves, exploring the possibilities open to them, in a global context of flux and change. Learning to be equally at ease with diversity is the challenge for educationalists and for education systems.

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2. CLASS TEACHERS AS MULTICULTURAL EDUCATORS IN NORTH KARELIA, FINLAND

Maarit Miettinen

This empirical study intends to explore the pedagogical and cultural thinking of North Karelian class teachers in issues concerning multicultural education. The basis of the study arises, first, from the problematic of multicultural education and cultural diversity, and, second, from the significance of values and ethics. My aim in this study is to find out how North Karelian class teachers conceptualize multicultural education, how they have confronted pupils from different cultures, and how their own values and attitudes are reflected in their teaching. My theoretical background is based on the theories of postmodernism, constructivism, and phenomenology. The methods used in this study include thematic interviews with 18 North Karelian class teachers and Stimulated Recall Interviews with 4 class teachers. The results were analyzed with the help of the Atlas-ti computer program. In the analysis I was able to find four different types of pedagogical thinking in multicultural education: the assimilative educator, the routine-oriented educator, the humanistic multicultural educator, and the critical multicultural educator.

2.1 Introduction

Traditionally there are three large ethnic minority groups in Finland: the Sami people in Lapland, the Romanis, and the Swedish-speaking minority. All of them have their own language and cultural heritage that are distinct from the Finnish main culture (Grönfors 1995; Kortteinen 1996; Allardt & Starck 1981; Kopsa-Schön 1996; Torikka 1996; Seuruejärvi-Kari, Aikio-Puoskari, Morottaja, Saressalo, Pentikäinen & Hirvonen 1995). While the number of immigrants and refugees is the lowest in Europe (1.4 per cent of the five million inhabitants in Finland) (Matinheikki-Kokko 1997, 12-13), the situation is changing, though slowly, all the time. This has also affected Finnish schools where pupils from different cultural backgrounds are transforming the classrooms into more heterogeneous and diverse. In North Karelia the largest groups of refugees and immigrants come from Russia, Slovakia, and Somalia; also Romani children are numerous in the classrooms of North Karelia. Among refugees and immigrants there are also pupils from, for example, Zaire, Vietnam, Thailand, and Germany.

According to the Finnish national curriculum (1994), all pupils should be educated so that they will become tolerant, respect human rights, and possess such knowledge and skills that assist them in coping with different cultures. These aims are even more important and actual in the context of today's more diverse society. Thus the teachers should pay special attention to the children from different cultures and their cultural identities and values in everyday teaching and praxis; they should also need to teach the children from the mainstream Finnish culture to learn to value both themselves and the different cultures. In educational theory this is called *multicultural education* (Barry & Lechner 1995; Gay 1995). In multicultural education *culture* is seen as a total and complex way of living, which is formed in a social context. To have a sense of cultural identity requires that one knows one's own

culture and how it differs from the cultures of other groups (Wallerstein 1988, 34-35). A decade ago Serkkola (1986) studied teachers' opinions about education for international understanding in Finland. He came to the conclusion that most teachers interviewed considered education for international understanding as a threat to Finnish nationalism and "national spirit" and thus were not willing to teach it.

In the light of Serkkola's findings, it is important to ask whether the values he identified in the teachers' opinions, Finnish nationalism and the related wish to defend "our culture" from "other cultures", are shown and preserved in Finnish classrooms now, ten years later? Is the Finnish school self-centredly attached to its own culture or has it become a multicultural learning environment? How aware are the Finnish teachers about their own values and prejudices? Do they ever ask themselves why they are teaching these matters in the way they do? Do they ever wonder about the origins of knowledge?

My main research problem was to find out how North Karelian class teachers were teaching multicultural education, how they conceptualized it, and how aware they were of it in general. While I did not have narrowly focused problems in the early stages of my project because my research was based on grounded theory, in which the focused themes rise from the data, I had however several assumptions on the basis of which to proceed. One of these assumptions concerned the values of the teachers, as values are always a crucial part of education. The values of any teacher define what is right and what is wrong, what is acceptable and what is not. It is through education that teachers attempt to direct their pupils towards acting in the "morally right way". The notion of "morally right" is, in turn, legitimated by different norms, institutions and organizations, which have been constructed in cultural contexts. Partly education is a form of transforming and reproducing these norms; partly it produces new norms, which aim at making the individuals more responsible for their actions (Hoffman 1996, 7-12; Törmä 1997; Bauman 1996). Rokeach (1973) has defined values as *"...an enduring belief that a spesific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance."* To find values is quite difficult because values are very general and often hide behind decisions and actions. For example, the teachers' own cultural and pedagogical values define how multicultural education is taught and conceptualized. The aims of education and the teachers' conceptions of ideal teaching and the ideal teacher also depend on values.

It is not only the values of a person but also his/her attitudes that influence how a person confronts culturally different people. Allport (1988) has defined an attitude as a "socially learned readiness to act". By this he means that attitudes are always learnt in a cultural and social context: there is no such thing as a natural-born attitude (Triandis 1971, Allport 1988). This means that education has a very important meaning in preventing prejudiced thinking. Several studies have shown that prejudiced thinking is often learnt in the early years, at home and at school (for the situation in Finland, see, e.g., Toivonen 1990; Virrankoski 1994; for other countries, Sonnenschein 1988). Triandis (1971, 49) has suggested that attitudes are necessary to an individual because they:

- help to make the world more understandable by simplifying things
- help to protect a person's self-esteem by giving different defences and explanations
- help to express and recognize one's own values.

The most common theory of attitudes is the component theory. It claims that attitudes have three components: the cognitive, the affective, and the practitional. The cognitive component is formed by

knowledge, the affective by emotions, and the practional component is one's readiness to act in relation to these other components (Triandis 1971, 3).

Stereotypes are closely related to attitudes. Tajfel (1981, 116) defines a stereotype as a form of consensus, which is applied to a certain group such as an ethnic minority. This consensus means that certain attributes are used to refer to the individuals of this group, without any real knowledge of this group. Existing stereotypes are based on categories, which enables us to simplify complex matters and to represent them through the same clusters of attributes. These categories can be rational or not-rational (Allport 1988, Tajfel 1981). Prejudices, which are also based on these categories, can be defined as "knowing before knowledge", judging before any evidence. If one has prejudices towards certain groups means one's approval or non-approval of the individuals of that particular group. Eventually prejudices may lead into discrimination and racism (Tajfel 1978; 1981). Knowledge often affects attitudes directly. The more one knows, the less stereotypes and prejudices one is likely to have. Knowledge about culture and cultures, humans, and teaching are all parts of multicultural education. Values, attitudes, and knowledge are all important facts in the teachers' pedagogical thinking in multicultural education. According to Kansanen (1996, 46), they shape it affecting the choice of teaching methods and decision-making in the classrooms. In this study pedagogical thinking refers to all those important elements that are part of the interaction between the teacher and the pupils (van Manen 1995). In this study all these aspects are explored in the context of multicultural education.

2.2 Methods and Data

The qualitative approach of this study has been selected because it is often difficult to gain deep information of the teachers' pedagogical thinking by questionnaires or other similar quantitative methods (Räty 1982). My main focus is not on the quantitative aspects but on the quality of the teachers' thinking. Since the aim was to answer such questions as what, why, and how, thematic interviews and Stimulated Recall Interviews were chosen as the methods of collecting data.

My basic idea was to interview all those class teachers in North Karelia who have been teaching children with a cultural background different from the mainstream Finnish culture in their own class (for a minimum of two months). As I wanted to have information about how they have managed and how important a role multiculturalism has played in their teaching, the experience in teaching culturally different pupils was crucial. I was able to find 18 class teacher with at least two months' experience. The region of North Karelia, the easternmost province in Finland, was chosen as the research area because of several reasons. It makes a very interesting case for this kind of research: though its population has been quite homogeneous, the amount of refugees and immigrants, especially Russians, has grown significantly since 1990. The presence of different cultures has grown very fast at the schools too. Yet the class teachers that I interviewed had had very little training in multicultural education: only a few had taken any short courses on it. However, all of these teachers had experienced different cultures in their own classroom. They had experience but no training concerning different cultures or teaching multicultural classrooms; nor had they had any help, and they had been forced to survive practically on their own. This adds its own aspect to the conceptualization of multicultural education. Another important factor is the growing presence of racist activities that have become more radical and visible in North Karelia. For teachers this means more pressure to teach multicultural education.

It was also interesting to find out what it is like to carry out research in a field that has been studied rarely in Finland. In educational theory the concept "multicultural education" has been defined in several different ways depending on the approach and its context (Mogdil, Verma, Mallick & Mogdil 1986, 5). While I first tried to find suitable definitions for concepts that have not really been defined in the Finnish context, including the main concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural education, the task was so problematic that I decided to wait and see what kind of definitions the teachers give to the concepts. As a result, the concepts have been defined quite broadly in this study. It was not my intention to provide any normative definitions, what is right and what is wrong, but I wanted to see how the teachers define these concepts in their own thinking. While it is important how educational theorists define the concepts, it is also important how the teachers themselves define these concepts: it is the opinions of the teachers that rule the praxis in the first hand, not those of the theorists. For example, if one defines multicultural education as pure nonsense that has nothing to do with the real life, one probably has no intention to teach it. Whether one sees multicultural education as projects like an "Indian week" or as an attitude that pervades all school subjects and the everyday life, affects one's teaching too. Multicultural education can mean different issues to different teachers, which of course affects how it is being taught (Mogdil et al. 1986; Gibson 1976; Powell 1996).

Focus	North Karelian class teachers' concepts, attitudes and knowledge of multicultural education	North Karelian class teachers' teaching methods in multicultural education
Empirical studies	1997 spring Thematic interviews	1998 spring Stimulated Recall Interviews
Subjects	18 North Karelian class teachers	4 North Karelian class teachers
Method of analysis	ATLAS-ti Content analysis Coding into different themes and types	Content analysis Coding into different themes and types

Figure 1. Research methods and data

I interviewed these teachers (15 women, 3 men = 18) for the first time in the spring of 1997. Every interview took place at the school and lasted for approximately one hour. All interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. While the atmosphere of the interviews can be described as quite relaxed, there were also other kind of experiences. For example, in the post-interview view of one teacher, the interview was horrible because "she didn't know the right answers". While I always tried to explain at the beginning of the interviews that this was not the point because there are no such things as the rightness or wrongness of the answers, I noticed that to confront different cultures in the classroom is not a very convenient subject for the teachers to talk about. As they also tended know how they were expected to answer, they tried to be very neutral in their attitudes. This was shown, for example, in their answers to the question how they felt about the presence of different cultures in the classroom. Most answers were of the type "different cultures mean richness" or "internationalization is a fine thing", obviously expected role speech that did not necessarily have anything to with their own opinions. Williamson McDiarmid (1992, 85) has also noticed this problem in her study of teachers' attitudes about and awareness of multicultural issues. However, these problems tended to concentrate on certain themes and when the interviews proceeded further, the atmosphere became more

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comfortable and the teachers began to give longer answers and to present more personal views of the issues discussed.

The second step in the gathering of data were the Stimulated Recall Interviews that were carried out in the spring of 1998. In my thematic interviews I had wanted to find out what of the important elements of a teacher's pedagogical thinking (knowledge, attitudes, values), these teachers utilized in the context of multicultural education. In this phase it was important to see how these attitudes, values, and this knowledge were actualized in praxis. At this stage my first data had already been analyzed. The teachers who participated in the STR interviews represented two different types of multicultural educators: one of teachers can be classified as an "assimilative educator", the three others as "critical multicultural educators". Through this division I wanted to see whether they really acted in different ways as teachers of multicultural education. Therefore I asked the teachers to plan and to give a lesson on the topic of "refugees" to their own classes. The subject was chosen because in my opinion this was a good subject for finding out about attitudes and opinions in teaching; it also gives the teacher a chance to function as a really multicultural and ethical teacher because its deals with ethical and multicultural matters such as one's responsibility for other people and human rights. I decided on the subject only, the teachers took care of the rest. They had two weeks to plan the lesson, after which I went to their school and video-recorded the lesson. At this stage only four teachers participated. The rest were either too busy with other tasks or did not want to teach in front of the video camera.

The duration of the four lessons varied from 45 to 90 minutes. After the lesson I watched the videotape together with the teacher, who was to comment on her own planning and teaching and to evaluate her actions and thoughts freely. In this way I collected data about the teaching methods used and about the teachers' ability to reflect on their thoughts and actions in the context of multicultural education. The Stimulated Recall Interview was as informal as possible. I did not ask any questions but teachers commented freely on the videotape. If they did not say anything, I helped them by asking such neutral questions as "Why did you do that?" or "How did you feel when doing so and so?". In general I tried to be as quiet as possible to avoid leading my informants into any particular direction. This was extremely problematic because I noticed that the teachers were expecting some kind of feedback from the researcher, although it was made clear to them that it was important that *they* themselves would evaluate their teaching, not anyone else. Later these videotapes and the STR interviews were transcribed. In all, the thematic interviews, the videotapes, and the STR interviews accounted to about 450 pages of transcribed text, waiting to be analyzed. In the analysis I utilized the ATLAS-ti computer program, which has been designed for the analysis of qualitative data (Moilanen & Roponen 1994). The analysis proceeded by connecting similar themes with each other. The most important facts that rose from the data are shown in the Figure 2

Focus Teacher	Culture	Pupil	Teacher	Multicultural education
Values	Nationalism vs. global thinking	Educational aims	Values about teaching multicultural class	Concepts, ideas, ethics of multicultural education
Attitudes	Attitudes about different cultures	Attitudes about pupils	Attitudes about themselves	Attitudes about multicultural education
Knowledge	Knowledge about different cultures	Knowledge of how to deal with the culturally different	Knowledge about multicultural educator	Knowledge about what is multicultural education
Pedagogical thinking	How can one teach cultural skills?	How to act in a culturally diverse class?	How to teach multicultural education?	Aims, teaching methods, and values in multicultural education

Figure 2. Themes in the analysis

2.3 Results

2.3.1 Teachers' Values

In this study I wanted to find out what kind of values teachers had in relation to culture, pupils, and teaching. In the analysis there were found several main values, which provided the basis of the teachers' pedagogical and cultural thinking. These values were labelled as **singularism** vs. **pluralism** (Pitkänen 1997, 71-72), **nationalism** vs. **internationalism,** and the **Protestant ethic** (Weber 1930) vs. **professionalism**. These values were seen in all teachers' pedagogical thinking in multicultural education; their conceptions of cultures, pupils, and teaching and being a teacher (see Figure 3 below).

Cultural	Singularism ——— Pluralism
	Nationalism ——— Internationalism
Pedagogical	Protestant Ethic ——— Professionalism

Figure 3. Dimensions of the values of North Karelian class teachers

A teacher with singularistic values thought that there is only one acceptable way of living, namely the "western way". In his/her teaching this kind of a teacher continuously compares different cultures with the Finnish culture. He wants to make a point of emphasising the difference in order to show that the Finnish culture is the best of all cultures in every conceivable way. For example, in the next quotation

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one teacher gives a lesson about the refugees and tells the students how parents deal with their children in Zaire:

> "In my classroom my students travel a lot .. and, in fact, just this morning Pekka told me that he will be going to Turkey for a holiday trip.. children are able to take this kind of holiday trips... and Pekka also told me that his parents listened to him when planning of this trip.. but in this video.. these (Zairian) girls were not listened to at all by their parents.." (W43)

A pluralist feels that there are different ways of living. Yet none of them can be valued as the best one but all are equal:

> "at school.. we must learn that there are different cultures which we must accept and.. well... this culture of ours is not the only right one..." (W59)

Nationalism is quite similar to singularism. The nationalist is fond of Finland's culture and finds it the best possible way of living. The nationalist looks through Manichean lenses and s/he is not able to change the glasses or to take them away for a second. For example, a pupil coming from a different culture can be accepted more easily if s/he looks like a Finnish child or learns Finnish quickly. Foreignness should be fixed by assimilating the child into Finland and its culture:

> (about a Bosnian student)
> "... it was that kind of a case.. that this girl assimilated very well into Finland.. she wanted to learn Finnish.. she wanted to become Finnish.. she was a very positive girl.. she wanted to play with Finnish kids.. though her friends wouldn't.. these Bosnian friends didn't approve that she had Finnish friends.. she wanted Finnish friends only.. and now I can say that she is a totally Finnish person... she is no different from any Finn.. I teach gym and handicraft to her now.. she makes no difference any longer.." (W43)

While **internationalism** is a way of appreciating one's own culture and cultural identity, at the same time it is a way of thinking that every person has the right to his/her own culture. Cultural relativism is also a part of internationalism:

> (about Finnish identity)
> "It means so much.. that's why a person has so clear an identity.. I have always told .. when I have been abroad.. that I come from Finland.. and when I was in one job where I was the only Finnish person, and I was the only one there among the Swedish.. at the beginning we talked about these issues, about this notion of identity... that it is very important that a person has an identity and that you know where you come from.. that's why you should never try to assimilate the Bosnian children into being Finnish or anything... he will accept Finnish culture totally differently if he can keep his own culture and history.. language and accept that .. he must keep his own culture.." (W47)

As a value the **Protestant ethic** (Weber 1930) is not so closely attached to multiculturalism, but it is more related to a teacher's attitude to his/her work and teaching methods. The Protestant ethics means that a teacher sees his/her job as a humble duty; s/he controls, teaches rules, and hides the curriculum (Broady 1981; Miettinen 1990). This means that rules and formal issues become the most important area of teaching instead of the content. In this scheme a good teacher is a good organizer and a good controller. In the multicultural context this means that a teacher teaches primarily rules to the culturally different pupils. They must learn how to sit quietly in the classroom for 45 minutes and then go outside the classroom. A teacher of the Protestant ethic is often very tired of his/her job. S/he keeps going only because quitting is not tolerable: one must carry on and keep on working. Work is a value in itself. For such teachers multiculturalism presents itself as a problem because pupils from different cultures do not know our rules. To teach them means extra work and longer working days:

> R: "How do you think that internationalization will affect your work?
> I: Well.. how would I say.. well, I have to work more than usually.. I don't think there is anything else..

R: What do you mean when you say that you have to work more?
I: Well, if there is someone who can't speak Finnish, you will have to sit next to him and change your teaching.. and in the beginning when he doesn't know much you must prepare all these teaching materials and such things..
..
R: How do you define yourself as a teacher?
I: Well,about the good qualities.. I'm very conscientious.. it means.. that if I take a job, I'll do it well.. As a negative thing I would say that I should be able to carry on more work.. and have more skills.. that everything has its limits.." (M57)

A teacher with this Protestant ethic as an attitude is also teacher-centred. They do not pay very much attention to the pupils' own qualities and their personalities.

A **professional teacher** believes that the teacher has an ability to make his/her work fun and can develop his/her skills as a teacher. Professionalism is important to such teachers and they like being good at what they are doing.

"I think that the school and learning should be.. there are two sides.. there are those things you won't learn without doing helluva hard work.... or in some things.. to learn something you must be ready to work hard.. but on the other hand the school must not be.. I mean that learning can also be fun.. being at school or at work generally.. that it can be fun, too.. that you don't have to make it too serious.. otherwise it will kill all the joy.." (M32)

A professionalist teacher is also pupil-centred. It is a way of seeing pupils as individuals and their cultural backgrounds as important parts of them. The pupil-centred teacher believes that a child is always a separate person; culture is something that you can see underneath the identity.

"I think I have seen this Bosnian child as an individual.. as his own person.. I think it is my most important quality in teaching these (Bosnian) children.. that you can see that no one is.. like a pupil who is coming from abroad .. that he is not a representation of that culture.. but.. he is his own person who has a certain background which is different than that of mine or that of our other pupils..." (W36)
R: "How could a teacher help other students to accept different cultures?"
I: "By making the point that everyone is different.. that .. every pupil belongs to a minority in one way... well.. I could tell you an example that we had this boy in my class.. he is not evil but he has... it's kind of... he likes war and war games and everything of that sort.. and he made this a little bit racist comment.. I don't remember now what it was exactly.. but we started to talk about it and there were different persons and then I asked this boy that do you think it is right to .. I used this example that is it right to hit somebody if he's different.. and he said yes.. and we were talking about this and then I asked him again whether he really thinks it's right.. he answered yes.. that it was a kind of a game.. and a little bit racist game.. you know.. and then I said that.. everyone whose first name starts with the letter "E".. and this boy's name started with an "E", I knew it.. and then I asked that do you think it is right if I hit you now.. then he said that no it isn't.. that's how I taught him.. I didn't want to start lecturing or anything.. it is better if you figure out something like that.." (M32)

Empathy is also common in the thinking of the pupil-centred teacher. He can put her/himself in the position of a child and imagine what the child is going through:

"You must try to help this child in every way because it is not easy for a child .. it is hard for a Finnish child to change school or class.. and you don't know anyone.. it is a big change for a child.. and especially if you don't speak the language.." (N47)

Feelings of empathy are important when there are, for example, refugee children in one's class. They might have gone through many traumatic experiences. For example, they might have been in the middle of battle fields or in refugee camps. Many problems may arise if the teacher does not understand the significance of the crisis or does not know the background of the child.

2.3.2 Attitudes of Teachers

All the teachers that I interviewed had stereotypes of and prejudices about different cultures. The main difference, however, was that there were some teachers who did not know they had stereotypes and thought they possessed correct knowledge; there were also teachers who were very aware that they had these prejudices and no real knowledge of the issues. This latter group said that they have tried to get rid of their prejudices. The teachers' most negative prejudices concerned the Russians and the Romanis. Almost everyone had these stereotypes that picture the Russians as lazy and the Romanis as hard to deal with. According to the teachers, these stereotypes were formed in their early childhood education at home; sometimes they also derived from their occasional bad experiences with these people.

> "I have said that I have been raised as hating Russians.. I am .. my mother is an immigrant (from Karelia) and my father was at war against the Russians for five years.. my education at home was very strongly against the Russians.. I have never known any Russian person.. the only one I know is this school assistant here now.. and my pupils.. I think I have this attitude hiding in me.. however..I don't think about people, like this way on the basis where they come from.. but I could say that I don't deny that there is something like that in me.. I am not saying that I am a racist but there are quite a few negative attitudes on which I have been raised..." (W42)

> "You always think that you are a very tolerant person because you have lived in so many cultures yourself.. that there is nothing.. in practice you see your own prejudices.. but .. the Russians were the most.. oh gosh.. at home there has always been this talk about the "Ruski" that it is not a racist expression but "a Ruski is always a Ruski though you fry it in butter".. and there are so many stereotypes like Russians are lazy and slow and do this and that.. and then there came these situations. I was for example visiting my Russian pupil's home.. and I knew the extent of the economic depression in Finland... and they had these, four or five, leather jackets hanging in their coat rack and they told me how they thought leather jackets are so cheap in Finland.. and I sometimes felt like this is too crazy: they have the money to buy leather jackets when the Finns had money to buy nothing but bread...in these situations.. Let's say that this job is very stressing.. you were so tired.. and then there were these little things.. though there were also those situations in which these boys were fighting seriously with each other and then I felt that this is like in Chechenia or somewhere.. that I could do nothing.. I started to think about their national background and I started to feel that all this happens because they are Russians.. then you started to notice that.. when you had seen for example those Asian pupils, from Thailand and Vietnam... I thought that they were so nice and easy.. it was fun to be with them and to visit their homes and then.. then with these Russians.. I noticed my attitude and I think that it's natural to have these attitudes.." (W34)

The importance of non-prejudiced thinking was one attribute the presence of which the teachers considered important in the teaching of minority children. One teacher had developed a system which helped her to prevent the negative influence of her attitudes and helped her to treat all children equally:

> I think I have developed in it (preventing stereotypical thinking).. that I know and see that I have these .. (stereotypes).. I have come up with this system for myself. I always ask myself that if this child was Finnish.. would I become so disturbed by his actions or not.. if the family of this children were Finnish would I be so disturbed because of these habits.. and if the answer would be no, or yes, it bothers me because they are Russians then I had it all wrong.. I think it is my personal strength that I am able to treat these kids in the same way.. be they Finns or Russians I am treating them in the same way.. if I treat them in the same way I would treat Finnish kids, then it is all right.. it has to be like that.." (W34)

In general, all teachers agreed that the first step in multicultural education is to learn to know one's own prejudices. Often this concern was expressed in relation to their pupils, not to themselves. All teachers said that in their teaching they try to be as objective as possible.

2.4 Knowledge about Multicultural Education

In analysing the data I found four different ways of carrying out multicultural education. These ways can be seen in the teachers' ways of thinking and in their practice: how the teachers had themselves taught culturally different children and what multicultural education was in their view. These ways were quite similar to their values and attitudes towards pupils, cultural thinking, and teaching. These ways were the following ones:

1. Assimilation (one teacher)
2. Controlling (seven teachers)
3. Tolerance education (six teachers)
4. Critical multicultural education (four teachers)

The first way of teaching in the multicultural classroom was labelled as **"assimilation"** (Berry 1986; Alitolppa-Niitamo 1993, 32; Liebkind 1988, 50;). This means that multiculturalism is seen as a lack of the characteristics of Finnish culture: the only aim of multicultural education is the assimilation of the culturally different child into Finland as quickly as possible.

The second way of teaching the culturally diverse class room is **"controlling".** This kind of teaching ignores the presence of different cultures in the classroom and concentrates on controlling pupils, no matter where they come from (Broady 1981; Miettinen 1990). Teaching becomes very routinized and static. Multiculturalism is also seen as a problem that disturbs the course of the normal schooldays and the order of normal teaching routines. Cultural issues are not considered. The main aims of the teacher are to keep the classroom nice and quiet and to teach the contents as proscribed in the national curriculum. Nothing else is important.

> "I think that the teacher must be the one who makes the decisions.. so that the children know that it is the teacher who knows and decides on the issues.. I mean that this is a certain kind of way of managing the classroom.. and I have experienced situations in which I have been forced to be very strict.." (W29)

> R: "What kind of characteristics does the teacher need in your view when s/he has culturally different pupils?"
> I: "If you think about mental characteristics, I think one should have good nerves and lots of patience.. that you can carry on.. carry on.. carry on... I think that this is the most important one"
> ...
> R: "What do you think about this concept of multicultural education?"
> I: "Well.. that concept is .. when I think about this job in practical terms.. it is too fancy.. to go into something like that as soon as you hear the concept.. you may fall back to reality very quickly.." (M57)

The third way of teaching multiculturalism is **"tolerance education".** This kind of teaching is mainly directed towards the Finnish children in the classroom. Its aim is to help them to tolerate and cope with the culturally different children (Wahlström, 1996). Through this it aims at making the everyday life of the immigrant and minority children easier by attempting to minimize bullying and teasing at school by educating the Finnish children towards tolerance. Some cultural issues and content can also be taught. Usually these are taught by selecting the culturally different child as an example. S/he becomes a living sample of what it is like to live in another culture.

> R: "Do you think it is more important to teach Finnish culture to these immigrant children or their culture Finnish pupils?"
> I: "Well.. it is important that they learn to know our culture.. learn history and present times.. if they will become citizens in this country one day.. or then if they go back.. that this time it would be like.. that they can live here.. and

well.. I don't think it's necessary to teach their culture to my pupils but it should be looked into so.. that these (Finnish) pupils would learn to understand.. that the background of these pupils is different and they must be treated with respect.."(W59)

The fourth way of teaching multicultural education can be called **"critical multicultural education"**. This means that multicultural education is double-sided; on the other hand it is tolerance education and on the other hand it involves the teaching of cultural issues.

"Well.. I think that multicultural education is .. tolerance education.. it means that children are taught to accept .. or let's say that not to accept but at first to notice differences between people and then, step by step, to accept these differences.. to understand and slowly to accept and.. and to understand that there is no such thing as one correct way of doing things.. and those other customs are not worse.. but equally right.. it is one kind of way of evaluating things.. that there is not black and white thinking.. I think that multicultural education also means that you learn to accept your own.. your own culture and that it is a good thing.. without being anything like ultra-nationalism or something like that.. I think it's something like that.. and I think that it's not .. I sometimes feel that for a Finn.. for the Finnish it is like that this multiculturalism is a kind of a value in itself.. that it is something fancy to eat all these pasta and pizza and everything.. that you don't eat this Finnish food.. you must not value your own culture and its own features less. I think it is just that.. it is not multiculturalism.. a health self-esteem is a part of multiculturalism.. your own cultural identity comes first and everything else after that.." (W34)

This kind of multicultural education is directed at everyone; it concerns both the children from the main culture and the children from the minority cultures. Its aims are to educate tolerant individuals who have a strong sense of cultural identity, regardless where they come from. Multicultural education is actualized everyday. It is not limited to contents or correct and critical knowledge but it is a total and complex way of seeing issues and giving them their value.

2.5 Synthesis

By combining all the elements (values, attitudes, knowledge and pedagogical thinking) I was able to find four different types of multicultural educators: the assimilative, the routine-oriented, the humanistic, and the critical multicultural educator. These types and their formation can be seen in the following figure below (Figure 4).

	Values	*prejudices*	*knowledge*	*pedagogy*
Assimilative educator (one teacher)	singularism, nationalism	unconscious stereotyped thinking	multicultural education as assimilation, naive conception of culture	teaching detailed information
Routine-oriented educator (seven teachers)	Protestant ethic	unconscious stereotyped thinking, pupil as representation of his culture	multicultural education as control, naive or objective conception of culture	teaching detailed information, discipline, rules
Humanistic multicultural educator (six teachers)	pluralism, internationalism, professionalism	conscious about his attitudes and stereotypes	multicultural education as tolerance education, objective or critical conception of culture	teaching detailed information, teaching cultural facts, empathy
Critical multicultural educator (four teachers)	pluralism, internationalism, professionalism	conscious about his attitudes and sterotypes	multicultural education as critical self-reflection, tolerance education and strengthening pupils cultural identity, critical conception of culture	criticism in everyday teaching, empathy, multimethods

Figure 4. Four types of multicultural educator.

The assimilative educator sees cultures as romantic and exotic. S/he is like a tourist who hates or likes the culture depending on his/her experiences concerning it. A pupil from a different culture is a sample of that culture, not a person. Everything is "so exciting" at first, but as soon as something goes wrong, it is the "fault of the culture".

Teachers of this type have many stereotypes. Thinking that they are correct, the teachers transmit them to their own pupils. These teachers are also very ethnocentric and have a naive conception of culture: culture consists of different and (usually) weird habits. A different culture means something exotic and strange; it is something that is nice to experience (Latomaa 1996).

> "I was very excited when I heard that this child will be coming into my class... I was so excited.. I thought: great... I can try this.." (W43)

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Routine-oriented educators are also ethnocentric, but this fact does not dominate their teaching. Their work as multicultural educators is based on the attitude that I have labelled as the Protestant ethic. When a child from a different culture comes into the class of a routine-oriented educator, s/he is primarily worried about discipline and rules. How can one teach all these rules to a child who does not know Finnish or how to behave at school (e.g. a child from Zaire)? This breaks his/her routines and disturbs his/her work as a teacher. Cultural issues are not important at all, especially if compared with the more important issues of how to get one's work done like usually even though there is a culturally different child in the classroom. This means extra stress, extra work, and yet one is not allowed to give up! One has to complete one's work, i.e., routines properly. The faster the child learns these routines, the easier and simpler everything is. Their conception of culture is naive or objective (Latomaa 1996). An objective conception of culture means that one has a more theoretical view of cultural issues. While culture consists of habits and of being different, there are also some similarities between cultures. This is a more relativist view than the naive one. An example of the objective conception of culture can be found below:

> "Well.. the biggest difference is that language and culture are connected.. then there are these religious things and customs related to that.. yet the other likes the same things you like too.. it is something you must take into account.." (W26)

The humanistic multicultural educator sees multicultural education differently. His/her teaching is more child-centred than that of the routine-oriented teacher. The humanistic multicultural educator thinks that cultural things matter. They also matter in the Finnish class, regardless the presence of culturally different children. Cultural matters are important because they help pupils to learn to be tolerant, which is even more important when there are culturally different pupils in the classroom. It is also important to tell the pupils something about the culture of the immigrant/refugee child. Such things may include, for example, where they come from and why they have come here. This helps the Finnish pupils to understand that diversity is a form of richness and everyone has a right to be different. Yet cultural issues are seen through blue and white glasses, as the main aim is to guide the Finnish children towards tolerance. Thus, for a humanistic multicultural educator, the main aim of multicultural education is tolerance. The conception of culture remains objective for them.

The critical multicultural educator sees multicultural education as critical self-reflection, tolerance education, AND also as strengthening the pupils' own cultural identity. A teacher of this type is pluralistic. When we are talking about cultures, in her/his view all cultures are equal. They also know a lot about different cultures and may have experienced themselves what it is like to live in a different country. They might also have foreign friends. As critical multicultural educators see pupils as individuals with a certain cultural background, this means that the teacher must think critically what to teach and why. In their teaching of cultural issues they use many different teaching methods; empathy plays a significant role in their teaching. To these teachers multiculturalism is present everyday as a total and complex way of relating to issues and humans. As culture is seen as a dynamic and reflective part of the humans' everyday life, their concept of culture can be called critical.

> "I think it is a human way of acting.. in daily life.. and of understanding his own existence.. and a kind of way of understanding the present and the future.. it is a culture.. and there are different cultures.. these differences mean that there is something that's different than it is in our culture.. and there are such things as.. if we talk about Finnish and Swedish cultures.. I think there are not so many differences .. but, for example, if we compare Bosnian and Finnish cultures there are these obvious differences.. but they are not problems.. they just are differences.." (W36)

This critical conception of culture means a rational explanation of cultural differences and similarities. Cultures are seen as their own complete and complex systems with their own developmental logics

and meaning which aim at solving similar problems of human life everywhere (Latomaa 1996). These teachers are self-reflective and critical in relation to information they teach.

2.6 Discussion

2.6.1 Method

I have based my research on an application of grounded theory in which the most central focus is on concepts, their relations, and representations in the teachers' speech and practice (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Grounded theory is very suitable in the study of the teachers' pedagogical thinking because it aims at forming conceptual systems on the basis of empirical data (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Patrikainen 1997, 246-247). The methods used were interviews and Stimulated Recall Interviews.

The methods of this study have been tried out in earlier research concerning the teachers' pedagogical thinking where they have proved to be suitable for this purpose (Patrikainen 1997). In a similar vein the focus of this study was on the teachers' pedagogical thinking but the context was rather different. As I mentioned above, multicultural matters are often experienced as "hot" and "threatening" issues that people find difficult to talk about. Interviews made it possible to present more questions and to think about this subject from many different points of view. This is also important for the validity and reliability of this study. Similarly, the STR interviews were important, as they checked the validity once more. During the STR interviews I noticed that the teachers acted very much as they claimed they would be acting. I also noticed that the "assimilative multicultural educator" taught in a rather ethnocentric manner and used also stereotypes in her examples. Thus I believe that these types really exist in the North Karelian classroom. As a form of self-critique I would like to mention that observations might also have been a good way of checking the validity of the results, as they would have allowed me to see more of the teachers' real action in the classroom. Yet he STR interviews provided me with more deep information, because they also dealt with the planning and evaluating of a lesson, issues that I would not have been able to gain information about otherwise.

2.6.2 Results

In this study I found four types of multicultural educators in North Karelia, Finland. These types were found by analysing the interviews of 18 North Karelian class teachers and the Stimulated Recall interviews of four North Karelian class teachers who had been interviewed at the first stage. These types were constructed by analysing the different themes that were most visible in my data (450 pages of transcribed text). The most visible factors in constructing the teachers' pedagogical thinking in multicultural education were values, attitudes, and knowledge. These were reflected in their concepts of multicultural education and in their teaching of the culturally diverse classroom. These types were the assimilative multicultural educator, the routine-oriented multicultural educator, the humanistic multicultural educator, and the critical multicultural educator. These types cannot be generalized to describe the whole of Finland because the results are based on the interviews of 18 North Karelian class teachers. Thus the aim of this study is to try to describe and explain what multicultural education means for these class teachers and why. The meaning of this study is both theoretical and practical. It is theoretical because it is hoped to help to define the concept of multicultural education in the Finnish context; practical it is because it tells what the situation of multicultural education is in North Karelia and in its schools and classrooms. When we examine these results, these four types of class teachers, we must remember that all teachers interviewed have had pupils with different cultural backgrounds in their own classes. When the results are explored from the pupil's perspective, to be for example in the class of an assimilative teacher is rather harmful.

It must be also remembered that these teachers have had very little training in cultural issues. Also, economic resources are also rather limited at schools today. This means that there can be more than 30 Finnish pupils and one or two immigrant children in the same classroom. It is obvious that many kinds of problems may arise: language problems, time problems, space problems, and cultural misunderstandings. It depends very much on the teacher how these culturally different children are noticed in the class.

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3. IMMIGRANT BACKGROUND OR SCHOOL DIFFICULTIES?

Pirjo Lahdenperä

This paper presents a study of teachers' thinking of school difficulties and their attitudes toward students' immigrant backgrounds. The intention of my doctoral thesis was to study the factors surrounding immigrant students' schooling. In the prevailing thinking are the students with immigrant backgrounds often associated with problems and difficulties, not only in administrative circles but also in practical pedagogical discussions in the school. These problems are the starting point for analyses of reasoning and thinking about immigrant students in school.

3.1 Aims

The primary aim of my study is thus to examine the relationship between conceptions of difficulties in school and attitudes toward students' immigrant backgrounds and ethnic classifications.

To accomplish these goals, the subdivisions of the thesis will be:

I) to analyse and systematise the reasoning on difficulties and problems in school, and
II) to define and systematise different possible attitudes toward the student's immigrant background and ethnic classification, in order
III) to investigate how teachers interpret and describe problems with and around immigrant students.

The following issues define the third aim:

1. What conceptions of pupils' difficulties and problems are expressed by teachers in case descriptions and intervention programs?
   - What explanations for problems and difficulties take on a definite form in the text?
   - How do the intervention models look like?

2. What attitudes does the teacher have toward the student's immigrant background?

3. What is the existing relationship between the conceptions of difficulties in school and the attitudes toward the student's immigrant background?

The overall purpose of this study of how teachers interpret and describe problems with and relating to immigrant students is to (a) survey and analyse teachers' conceptions and attitudes as contextual factors for immigrant students' schooling and (b) discuss how these contextual factors can be elucidated and changed.[1]

3.2 Research Design and Method of the Study

Social constructionism as interpreted by Gergen (1985, 1989), Harré (1985), Shotter (1989, 1993), Knippendorf (1991), Steier (1991) and others, as well as the communications psychological orientation of Cronen and Pearce (1980, 1985), Pearce (1994, 1995) make up the epistemological and researchmethod theoretical basis for the thesis study. The social constructionistic orientation proceeds from the epistemological assumption that objective knowledge or reality do not exist and cannot be conceptualised outside our senses and language. Meaning and the social world in which people live exist in an inter subjective medium. We construct the world with language, and language is by nature a relationistic phenomenon. Thinking, conceptions, and attitudes are viewed as relationistic and interpersonal phenomena, since meaning is created and given in the interaction and communication between people. Thus all these ideas and designations can also be viewed as culturerelated, depending upon the cultural context in which meaning is created and given. Culture is therefore a part of our social world. As with other aspects of our social world, culture is also a context for the conversations in which we participate and of which we are products.

The study is also seen as a construction process. The purpose of the study is not to give an objective or correct picture or image of reality, but rather to create structures and "tools" with which to describe, examine, and treat this reality. Thus social constructionist knowledge goals are compatible with, for example, the thesis' purposes of analysis and systematization of the thinking on school difficulties - and of finding and systmatizing different attitudes.

3.2.1 Empiric

My empirical research material consists of an *intervention program*, written in connection with in-service training courses in special education on immigrant students at the Stockholm Institute of Education. In these programs the teacher describes a student or a class/group defined as problematic for him/her or for other teachers in the school. With a social constructionistic approach, the intervention program, as research material, can be studied as communication texts and as written stories.

3.2.2 Method

In order to analyse the contents and get at the "treasures" in the intervention program, I have chosen content analyses as a textual analytical research method. My content analyses of the texts in the intervention programs are based on analysis of what is included in and, respectively, what is excluded from the texts. in what has been included in the text, the actual content has been studied, as well as the way in which it is expressed in the text, such as proximity or distance to/from the student or the problem. This can be done with the aid of the person positions I, you, he, or she (cf. Shotter 1984), which the teacher uses to describe the student(s) or the moral obligations for the problem which appears in the text. What is excluded from the text can consist of aspects of which the author has no or little knowledge. Analyses of what is excluded from the text can include even that which is not expressible. These non expressible aspects can fall into the aforementioned deontic modalities[2], i.e. within the morally prohibited.

The textual analytic research process for the study of the intervention programs can be described as a circular process in the following phases:

(1) pre-understanding
(2) constructing analysis
(3) in-dept analysis
(4) new constructions.

From results of variations in conceptions and attitudes, conclusions will be drawn for new constructions, i.e. in the form of a system of meaning. At the conclusion of the thesis I give examples of how these discursive conceptions and fundamental systems of meaning can be elucidated and changed.

3.3 Cognitive Maps

Cognitive maps make up the theoretical basis for construction of the categorisation charts with the help of which the text in the intervention programs has been studied and analysed. These cognitive maps consist of two different maps:

(I) thinking on school difficulties and
(II) attitudes toward students' immigrant backgrounds and ethnic classifications.

3.3.1 Thinking on School Difficulties

I have differentiated the thinking on school difficulties into three different discourses:

1) characteristics
2) development
3) context.

1) Characteristics

The basis for this view of difficulties and problems is the medical, biological, individual, and differential psychological theory bases which focused on aptitude-related explanation models. Difficulties or handicaps are equivalent to one or more characteristics - deficiencies, faults, aberrations, or injuries - which an individual possesses. The description is based on an image of a functional and active personality as a norm, in which the extent of the defect is related to the normal function. Diagnosis or judgement of the type and extent of the defect are founded on descriptions of the person's behaviour, and on investigations in the form of standardised tests. The intervention work will be to adapt students to the school's requirements with a special education procedure, or with different forms of treatment enlisting the aid of specially trained personnel, or by placement in institutions, in treatment homes, or in special classes or groups.

2) Development

This is based on an interactional view of the individual's development, where the focus is more on the students' development and needs than on characteristics and aptitudes. The purpose of diagnosis and problem descriptions is to find one or more areas which are called holistic development and which are neglected or in need of reinforcement. A holistic view of development

includes the individual's cognitive, emotional, aesthetic, social, and physical development, in which all the different aspects of development have their own research background as an explanation model as well as treatment expertise in the area. With this viewpoint, reasons for difficulties and problems can be found in mental disorders, functional impediments, or faults proceeding from the different needs for development, such as emotional disorders, social problems, faults in cognitive functions, or disorders or impediments in physical development. Diagnosis is based on a description of the conditions of the child's growing up, where an effort is made to identify a deficiency or injury in that particular area of development which might explain the difficulty or problem. The result of the growing-up description is then translated in the intervention plan to the student's needs, in order to be able to adapt the pedagogical environment, the instruction, or the treatment to the child's needs, level, and prerequisites.

3) Context

The third discourse concerning school difficulties can be found within the thought constructions of system theory and organisation theory. In these explanation models the individual and his/her behaviour are always seen as a part of the entirety to which each individual case belongs - the group, the class, the teachers' room, the family, the culture, and the school system, both on the large and the small scale - i.e. in the context where problems and difficulties appear and are experienced.

a) *Environment as a basis*

The thinking of organisational theory has been used as a tool to shed light on different organisational factors as bases for analysis and treatment of difficulties and problems in school. In this case it is not only the students who have difficulties in school, but also the personnel working in the school; teachers can have teaching difficulties, administrators can have administrative problems, and so on. Descriptions of environmental factors can focus on the school's working methods, instruction, the co-operation between staff members, relations, instruction forms, the class, the group, etc. Among the intervention actions mentioned in the school as an organisation are local development work from a model of system theory, where focus is placed on staff and activity development, using as working methods consultation, group discussion, work plans, teaching methods courses, etc.

b) *Meaning as basis*

In the construction of the contextual discourse of "meaning", I base my work on social constructionism as a theory in which science, logic, knowledge, etc. are arranged in a semantic and social context. The emphasis in analyses of difficulties and problems, as well as the treatments, is on systems of meaning where the focus on description of difficulties is in the present - relations, communications, evaluations and attitudes, "game rules" in the form of agreements, and the practical course of action in the school organisation. The person who experiences the difficulty is often identical with the person who has the difficulty. Systemic working methods are derived from system theory thinking, from family therapies as well as systemic consultation and change work, in which e.g. a student welfare team can form a subsystem whose assignment is to develop interaction conditions and communication in the school organisation. In this consultative working method - in which everyone involved in the school and outside school becomes involved in the work of change or the problem solution - alternative ways of looking at the problem and reformulating the problem is desirable in order to create a possibility of change and development. In this way, the different systems of meaning which exist in a school system can be elucidated and change.

3.3.2 Attitudes Toward the Student's Immigrant Background

Westin (1984) states that attitude as an analytical instrument contains three components or aspects: a) beliefs, b) values, and c) intentions. Here a belief refers to characteristics, a value to a decision of whether the object in question is good or bad, and an intention to how the person might consider dealing with the object in question.

The cognitive map of different attitudes toward the student's immigrant background and ethnic classification are included in initially three different attitudes: social categorisation, ethnocentrism/reciprocity, and non-categorisation. The theoretical run-through then resulted in two attitudes, in principal dissimilar, toward the student's immigrant background: a) the categorising and b) the non-categorising.

a) Among the *categorising* are the teachers who regard aspects in students' immigrant backgrounds as a deficiency which the school should treat or compensate for. For these teachers, the student's immigrant background or ethnic classification is an incitement to classify the student *negatively*. The teacher's own upbringing, culture, social position, qualifications, values, etc. are frames of reference in the ethnocentric attitude for evaluation and interpretation of the student and his/her parents. Categorisation can also result in a *positive attitude*, i.e. the student's immigrant background is evaluated as a resource for the person, the instruction, or the school.

b) The *non-categorising* attitude is characterised as *neutral* or *insignificant*, *reciprocal* or *intercultural*. The difference lies in whether the relationship to the student/problem is described in terms of I, you, or he/she/it. The *neutral* or insignificant attitude can indicate a distancing from the student, in which the student is considered in the third person. A reciprocal attitude indicates a capacity for affective and cognitive insight into the student's situation and needs. It also expresses a will or intention to treat the student with consideration and respect. The student is treated as "you", as an individual; neither ethnic classification nor immigrant background influence recognition and categorisation. An *intercultural* attitude indicates a consciousness of one's own cultural background and presumes an equal relationship. The teacher describes the student or the problem in the first person, i.e. he/she is conscious that the description of the student concerns a person with another ethnic background. An intercultural attitude can describe the problem as a form of cultural conflict.

3.3.3 The Results of the In-depth Study

Altogether, the results of the in depth study of the intervention program show that discursive thinking on school difficulties are dominated by the *characteristics* discourse. More than half (55%) of the teachers perceived the student's characteristics, behaviour, or background (e.g. parents) as reasons for problems in school. Barely a third (28%) of the teachers' answers indicated any aspect of the student's development as reasons for the problem, or as something which could be treated in school. At least 83% of the teachers categorised the students as bearers of difficulties and problems in school – and thereby disregarded environmental factors around the student. Only 16% of the teachers looked for problems and difficulties around the student/students in the school environment or in the context in which they appeared. These teachers explained or described such problems as group problems or environmental aspects, which included instructional difficulties in colleagues, shortcomings in the administration, or cultural conflicts in the school.

Examination of the results of the in-depth study in attitudes to the student's immigrant background shows that 70% of the teachers perceive aspects of the student's background or ethnic classification as negative for schoolwork. None of the teachers had exclusively positive attitudes toward the student's immigrant background.

One-fourth of the teachers had a reciprocal or intercultural attitude. These teachers were committed to the student and had a non-categorising view of the student's immigrant background and ethnic classification.

Conceptions of school difficulties and attitudes toward the student's immigrant background seem to be related, in that conception of characteristics in general leads to a negative or categorising attitude toward the student's immigrant background. Nor is conception of development free of negative and categorising attitudes. As many as 76% of the teachers in the development discourse exhibited a categorising attitude. Barely one-fourth exhibited a reciprocal attitude to the student's immigrant background and ethnic classification. Those teachers who analysed the students' environmental factors, i.e. within the context discourse, were least negative or categorising toward the student's immigrant background.

Variations were identified in the in depth-study of conceptions and attitudes related to the teachers' background factors, e.g. ethnic classification, school experience, education, and school level. The teacher's capacity for reciprocal thinking increased if the student and the teacher had the same ethnic classification, or if the teacher identified with the student's immigrant background. Analogously, difference in ethnic classification and sensation of cultural distance increase the negative separation, i.e. discrimination of the student.

3.3.4 Conclusions and Reflections

Since the in-depth study suggested that a contextual conception of difficulties in school and an intercultural attitude toward immigrant students appeared to be the least discriminatory for students with immigrant backgrounds, the conditions for a contextual and, respectively, an intercultural intervention project are discussed. These conditions include the following:

a) To change the thinking about school difficulties from focusing on problem individuals to problem-generating systems or systems of meaning presumes that the problem can be reformulated from being about pupils as bearers of difficulties to studying in what context and in what activities or operations the problem is experienced and described. Teaching, learning, instruction, administration, and co-operation are examples of such activities upon which the formulation of difficulties and problems can be built. These activities, e.g. co-operation, can be analysed with reference to, for example, communication, relations, interaction patterns, unofficial "game rules", official agreements, and practical courses of action.

b) It is important that there be staff at the school who can comprehend, analyse, and change the school and meaning systems around the students, and that they have experience and knowledge of different schools and forms of instruction for students with immigrant backgrounds. it is moreover of vital importance that there be staff at the school having the legitimacy and the qualifications to work with teaching difficulties, with administrative difficulties, or with the school's system of meaning.

c) Experience of different cultural contexts and of multicultural relations can be an advantageous condition for the development of an intercultural attitude, since these offer possibilities for treatment of ethnocentric ideas and broadening of the individual's cultural horizon. Bicultural or multicultural people acting as home language teachers are important resources at the school, with reference to the multicultural students; they can contribute to the creation of the necessary conditions for the intercultural viewpoint which, as stated by school guidelines (Sö 1987, 1989), are to characterise all school activity.

The summarising changes in the system of meaning and the discursive concepts which I illustrate on the basis of analysis of this fundamental system of meaning are:

a) From immigrant students and students with immigrant backgrounds to multicultural students, which describes better the multicultural cultural richness in the student, as well as his/her need for recognition of both cultural heritage(s) and the contextual (new) culture (Lahdenperä, 1994, 1996).

b) From compensatory to complementary attitudes toward parents
A complementary position means that the school is seen as a social complement to the upbringing given by the parents. Upbringing is seen as a partnership in which it is important that the multicultural parents are invited in the discuss their child's schooling and education as communication partners on an equal standing. Discussions cannot be blocked by one single model or strategy which is to be valid for all multicultural children, regardless of their cultural origins, their situations, and their status in the country; there must be an acceptance of all bicultural educational strategies.

c) From immigrant research to intercultural research
In immigrant research, the focus is placed on immigrants or on minorities. The surrounding country, the society with its institutions, etc., have lain outside the interest area of the research. In intercultural research, however, interest is directed at the surrounding society and on the interplay between, for example, the majority society and its minorities. These phenomena are studied from an inter-ethnic, inter-cultural viewpoint in which the different cultural perspectives, like majority and minority perspectives, work together and complement each other.

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[1] *Against the background of the distinction made between three different orientations and strategies with multicultural education in the USA (Banks, 1992), these being (1) curriculum or syllabus orientation, (2) achievement orientation, and (3) inter group education orientation, it is ascertained that both the curriculum or syllabus orientation and the inter group education orientation have been significant to multicultural education in Sweden. Achievement orientation recives less attention both in educational research and in school administrative discussions. The intention of this thesis is to study the factors surrounding immigrant students' schooling.*

[2] *I have used Georg Henrik von Wright's (1951, 1968) deontic logic as a basis for my study of these moral dimensions. In deontic logic, he reduces the normative concepts of reality to three modalities: obligation (that which must be done), prohibition (that which must not be done), and permission (that which may be done). von Wright states that truths in all these laws result from our intuitive conceptions about obligation and permission.*

4. FACILITATING MULTICULTURAL COMPETENCE AMONG FINNISH SCHOOL COUNSELLORS

Marjatta Lairio, Kaija Matinheikki-Kokko, Sauli Puukari

4.1 Introduction

Currently there are approximately 74.000 foreign citizens living in Finland. The largest groups are Russians (12.000), Estonians (9.000), Swedish (7.000), and people from various regions of former USSR (5.000). The largest numbers of refugees have arrived from Somalia (4.600), former Yugoslavia (2.500), and Vietnam (2.000). In international comparisons these figures are marginal, but for Finland they mean a major change and a great challenge. It must be kept in mind that the number of immigrants and refugees has radically increased during the 90's compared to earlier times when there were hardly any refugees and the number of immigrants was small.

All the educational levels combined there are about 19.000 foreign students in Finland and about 2.000 new immigrant students are received in various educational institutions.

Approximately half of the school counsellors working at different levels in the Finnish education system have students from other countries (Oppilaanohjauksen seurantaprojekti 1997). The above statistics show that a new era in Finland is about to begin. The Finnish society has to be prepared to respond to the challenges created by the changes. Ethnic diversity is step by step becoming a reality in many regions of Finland.

With this change of the Finnish society in mind, the Faculty of Education established a Clinic for multicultural counselling in spring 1997. This article describes the main objectives of the clinic, the current structure of its organization, and its links to the training of Finnish school counsellors running in the department of Teacher. The focus is especially on the possibilities the clinic can offer in school counsellor training for improving their Multicultural Counselling competency (suorempi ilmaus?). A new project combined resources of the University of Jyväskylä and the Jyväskylä Polytechnic and a multimode course programme was designed to train school counsellors for both general schools and vocational schools and polytechnics. The first students entering the new programme started in autumn 1996. The core ideas behind this training programme and its key elements are presented. Discussion about the possibilities the new clinic for multicultural counselling can offer for school counsellor training forms the main part of the article.

It should be noted that both the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling and the new multimode training programme for school counsellors are recently established. Therefore the discussion in this article is more concentrated on studying the possibilities that could be opening in linking the clinic and the School counsellor education programme. The discussion is based both on research literature and the experiences about the first steps of the clinic and the training programme.

4.2 The Clinic for Multicultural Counselling in a Nutshell

Generally and briefly, the main objective of the Multicultural Counselling Clinic is to facilitate multiculturalism and intercultural activities in the field of counselling. The clinic is focused on developing guidance and counselling for people coming from other cultures and on developing multicultural counselling competencies of people who are responsible for their counselling. In order to face these challenges the activities of the Clinic will be based on three corner stones: research, education and information dissemination, and guidance and counselling work at the Clinic. These three main areas of operation will contain different sub-areas, such as the ones described below:

Research

- educational guidance
- vocational guidance
- psycho-social guidance
- guidance in working life.

Education and information dissemination

- preliminary and in-service training of people from other cultures who have an education in the field of education and/or guidance and counselling
- producing training and guidance materials for immigrants
- provision of training in multicultural guidance and counselling for field workers
- students, and researchers together with other experts.

Guidance and counselling work at the Clinic

- developing of guidance and counselling services, assessment and methods which are applied with people from other cultures and developing services where immigrants' own language is used.

Organizationally, the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling is part of the faculty of Education with no formal attachments to individual departments. The clinic has an administrational board including representatives from the faculty administration, departments in the faculty and from the Continuing Education Centre. A small working group participates in planning the activities in the clinic and prepares plans and decisions for the board. A special planner is responsible for the coordination of the activities and designs the activities together with the working group and other participants in the projects carried out by the clinic.

The nature of the work done in the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling requires networking. The clinic has links to various institutions and organizations in the Finnish society. Examples of these partners are the local and the regional employment office, individuals and teams in various departments at the university and other educational institutions. Among the partners are also police officers, officer from the social welfare system, and regional and national networks of volunteers working in teams that facilitate multiculturalism, interculturalism, and antiracism.

4.3 Development of Multicultural Counselling Competence: Theoretical Considerations and Practical Strategies

The three-dimensional model of multicultural counselling competence is most common in the field of American cross-cultural counselling (LaFromboise ET al., 1991; Sue, Arredondo & Roderick, 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990). The proposed model comprise: the counsellors' awareness of the social conditions of clients and of there own social assumptions; the counsellors' self-awareness and client-awareness of the implications of cultural differences; and awareness of interventions and their management. This model is also applied by the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling as one important conceptual framework. It has influenced, for example, to what kind of multicultural competencies are aimed to meet in multicultural counselling training.

The three-dimensional model of multicultural competence has, however, dealt inadequately with contextual elements of multicultural counselling competence (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997). The counsellors' competence is not best described only as an individual continuum of multicultural competence, but it appears to be more domain-specific, situational, and inconsistent (Denzin, 1988,1992; Deutsch, 1994; Ellström, 1996; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997) than has generally been the case in counselling studies (Berry et al., 1992; LaFromboise et al., 1991; Pedersen et al. 1989; Ridley et al., 1994; Sue & Sue, 1990). Therefore, the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling has tackled the need for developing a higher degree of accuracy in considering the contexts of cross-cultural interactions within the client service as well as in training and assessment of counsellors' multicultural competence.

In face-to-face situations the elements, such as the nature and scope of the clients' need for counselling, the cultural distance between the counsellor and client, the gender of the client, and the past experiences of the client (refugee, migrant) have been identified to influence on the counsellors' multicultural competence. In particular, the needs of other-culture clients for counselling had implications for what kind of competence was needed but also how the counsellors assessed their own multicultural counselling competence (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997). Furthermore, the broader context of counselling integration policies and the allocation of resources have shaped the focus of counsellors, their purposes, and the opportunities to adapt their counselling in response to the perceived needs of other-culture clients. In Finland, for example, 'short-term course practices' and rigid organisational arrangements have favoured an *assimilationist perspective* in counselling rather than a *multi-cultural and equality perspective* aimed in actual integration policy programmes (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1990,1992,1997).

The findings about the counsellors' multiculticultural competence as contextually varying and liable to change constitute a challenge also to the professional training of counsellors. The multicultural professional training has been strongly emphasized, for example, in the current programme of Principles for Finnish Refugee and Migration Policy (Sisäasiainministeriö, 1997). The findings of Finnish integration policy and practice also constitute a challenge for change in the existing ethnocentric power structure in the administration and practice of refugee and migration affairs. Although the Finnish authorities responsible for refugee and migration policies have supported the immigrants in their process of participation within Finnish society according to the principles of a policy of multiculturalism (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 1992), they have not allowed any 'subjectivity' or active role for refugees and migrants in policy making or in professional practice. None of the ethnic minorities have participated in the official administration of refugee and migration affairs at the governmental level. The Finnish authorities that advocate the welfare of other-culture clients have taken on themselves the power of defining what their problems are and

what has to be done about them. The Finnish professional approach is based on the universalism defined by the ethnic majority, and it means adhering to a narrow professional model built around the Finnish concept of expert neutrality without regard for the legitimacy of the views of the immigrants themselves.

As this type of a helping model may be insufficient for creating 'cultural diversity', innovative social actions, and for being prepared to give priority to the active involvement of ethnic minorities in the integration process (Berry, 1997; Dijk Van, 1988; Ely & Denney, 1987; Sue & Sue, 1990), the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling will assess and produce the cultural diversity in institutional and professional response models. *A preparation course in teacher education and multicultural counselling targeted for immigrants with a teacher's degree is* taken as an example of the current professional training projects carried out at the Clinic. The course started in August 1997. The schedule of the 20 credit-unit course is tight since the course ends already in December 1997. 15 students, 12 women and 3 men, were selected from 47 applicants. Selection criteria were as follows: a teacher degree obtained in a foreign country, work experience in teaching, and sufficient language skills in Finnish (Maahanmuuttajaopettajat - opetukseen ja ohjaukseen valmentavan koulutuksen opetussuunnitelma, 1997).

The aims of the course are to:

1. introduce the Finnish education system and guidance and counselling system to the immigrants;
2. provide the immigrants an opportunity to complement their teacher degree ;
3. facilitate employment of the immigrants in the field of teaching and guidance, particularly in guidance of immigrants;
4. develop multicultural instruction and guidance in cooperation with the immigrants.

The content of the course consists of the following three main areas:

1. Teacher as a counsellor facilitating development and learning of a student from another culture (6 credit units);
2. Teacher/counsellor as a member of an educational institution and as an expert of the society (6 credit units);
3. Teaching and guidance and counselling practical training in different educational institutions (8 credit units).

Planning of the course was partly based on the previous work by Marjatta Lairio (see e.g. Lairio 1996, 1997) and Kaija Matinheikki-Kokko (for a recent research publication see e.g. Matinheikki-Kokko 1997) and partly on creative teamwork.

It is hoped that this course will eventually provide an opportunity for the immigrants to enter Finnish labour markets and use their educational and counselling skills to help new immigrants as they enter the Finnish education system. On-course evaluation has indicated that the schedule is probably too tight. Most immigrants seem to need more time to process the information and construct their own knowledge on the topics described above. More systematic evaluation will be carried out at the end of the course and the results will be carefully analyzed in order to develop the course for the next student population.

4.4 A New School Counsellor Education Programme

This section contains a brief description of a new School counsellor education programme. The description provides a needed background information for the discussion following this section. The constructivist notion of learning is emphasized as the pedagogical starting point for school counsellor training (see Sexton 1997; Winter 1996). For more detailed overview of the training program see Lairio (1996) and (1997).

The general goals of School counsellor education programme are briefly as follows:

1. *Provision of multifaceted competence*. Multifaceted competence is seen as an ability and readiness to apply the basic professional knowhow in a flexible way in various kinds of jobs and organizations;
2. *Availability of flexible training opportunities*. The training programme must ensure that school counsellors can easily expand their professional expertise through continuing programmes and in-service training;
3. *Support of continuously developing expertise*. Continuously developing expertise is related to life-long learning and education. Expertise requires construction of new information and knowledge, as well as new practices;
4. *Skills needed for promoting networking*. Meeting the challenges of the postmodern society, the school counsellors need good networking skills to be able to cooperate with various interest groups and to be able to give guidance to students regarding further education opportunities and working life in general;
5. *Skills needed in international contacts*. Students in School counsellor education programme are encouraged to develop skills needed in the new forms of guidance and cooperation involved in an internationalized society.

The *content objectives of school counsellor training* can be seen to represent three dimensions of the profession, comprising personality, cognitive processing and professional operational skills:

1. *Objectives relating to personality*. The school counsellor's personality, ie. self-image and its implications, is his/her most important work tool. The continuous meeting of new challenges requires activeness, increasing responsibility for one's actions and further development, self-confidence, self-directiveness, and flexibility. These qualities are also what counsellors should aim to promote in their students;
2. *Objectives relating to cognitive processing*. The core of counselling expertise is to be able to identify the learning, counselling and development needs of the mixed ability students representing diverse age groups and cultures, and to provide counselling and support for their learning, decision-making, and selection processes. In addition, counselling involves helping individuals to manage changes connected with various turns and intermissions in the lifespan;
3. *Professional operational skills*. Professional counsellors are expected to develop their professional and operational skills throughout their careers. These skills relate to the planning, implementation, and assessment of the counselling process, as well as to the needs of cooperation and consultation required by a smooth operation of the institutions. Counsellors are also expected to have operational skills needed for networking within different educational structures at regional, national, and international levels.

A multimode and distance education programme in school counselling was set up on an experimental basis during the academic year 1996-1997 as a joint venture between the University of Jyväskylä and the Teacher Education College of the Jyväskylä Polytechnic. Verdin, Jr. & Clark (1991), Varila (1992) and Koro (1993) base the basic ideas used in planning the training programme on studies. Students with either a teaching certificate or some other graduate degree, as well as sufficient knowledge of the school system and working life are eligible for this programme. They receive qualifications to act as school counsellors after a successful completion of a 35 credit unit programme (one credit unit in the Finnish university system requires 40 hours of work, including contact study and independent study). The programme comprises three semesters of study in the form of multimode and distance education. The quota for the University of Jyväskylä is 20 students and for the Polytechnic 10 students.

General outline of the multimode and distance education programme. The key issues involved in the planning of the multimode and distance education programme in school counselling relate to the extent and relationship of contact and distance modules. Approximately one third of the curriculum of the programme is composed of contact modules (ie. 11 credit units or 456 hours) which the students have to participate in. Guided distance work is about 24 credit units, comprising regional networking assignment (4 c.u.), professional development projects (8 c.u.), and various learning tasks (12 c.u.).

The key issues of this school counsellor programme are presented in the following five themes:

- Society, counselling, and reflective practice
- Professional development across the learning process
- Counselling in various contexts
- Networking in counselling
- Assessment of professional growth and development goals.

Each thematic module includes theoretical studies, as well as practical action research and application of theoretical knowledge. The learning tasks and individual professional development projects are tied closely with school counselling. Together they provide a basis for the students to reflect upon their professional growth and expertise, and to design their counselling theory or "manuscript". The distance modules also include networking practice in business, employment administration, and various types of educational institutions, because the diversity of existing learning environments is an important factor in adult learning. This new type of "learning-by-doing" practice is seen to complement traditional teacher practice. (Kauppi 1993; O'Neil 1995; Järvinen 1996.)

The individual study plans may vary a great deal and have very different emphases and orientations, which means that the process description of the programme must be interpreted from different perspectives. The particular task of this type of training is to develop tools for the students to be able to analyse and direct their own growth as counsellors. The individual study plans and timetables are adjusted according to professional maturity. An individual curriculum is, at its best, a "learning theory or philosophy" which forms a basis for continuous reflection upon and self-assessment of learning accomplishments and key issues of counselling. Since the starting point for school counsellor training is the principle of life-long professional development, the individual study plan can also be seen as a design for future professional work.

During the contact modules the students get good experiences of the development of group dynamics. The small tutorial groups give opportunities for self-reflection both as a group member and a group leader. In addition, different approaches to the analysis of the functioning of a group are addressed. The purpose of these practices is to raise the students' awareness of the development of group processes and to develop tools for managing these processes. The professional development projects and learning tasks make it possible to establish collaborative small groups as study support.

Continuous assessment, including self-assessment in the form of critical reflection of previous experiences and practices, is integrated into each thematic module. Through self-assessment, the students learn to monitor their own learning and progress towards their individual goals, as well assess their achievements and the processes involved.

The expertise in the field of counselling is encapsulated in the concept of reflective expertise (Glaser 1987; Mezirow 1990; Järvinen et. al. 1995). Since the general aim of the programme is to educate school counsellors who see their profession as one requir-ing continuous development and renewal, the pedagogical approaches used in the training have been selected to contribute to that. The methods used depend on the kinds of choices made during the programme, and include, for instance, group work, group discussions, reading tutorials, expert workshops, independent reading, action research, excursions, learner diaries and portfolios, etc. Each thematic module includes a list of relevant literature, to be used when applicable.

4.5 The Clinic for Multicultural Counselling as a Context for Developing the Multicultural Counselling Competence of School Counsellors in their Education Programme

In this section we try to search for various ways to link the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling and the School counsellor education programme for developing training for multicultural counselling competence. The reason we find this search for links important is that school counsellors are a very important group that can help immigrant students in adapting to the education system of the new country they enter (see e.g. Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997; Peavy 1997).

The following initial possibilities for linking school counsellor trainees with the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling were identified:

- participation in research and/or development projects
- practical training
- development of learning materials for multicultural education
- establishing collaborative networks
- participating lectures and small-group discussions and various forms of group work
- designing and organization of in-service courses.

Participation in research projects

Participation in research and/or development projects is one obvious possibility to link the School counsellor education programme with the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling. Research on cross-cultural counselling has been criticized (Pedersen, 1991; Ponterotto, 1988; Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1990) because of: 1) the lack of a theoretical framework, 2) overemphasis on simplistic worker-client process variables without regard to the context, 3) overreliance on experimental analogue research outside the 'real world' setting, 4) disregard for intracultural within-

group differences, 5) heavy overreliance on student samples, and 6) overemphasis on clinically oriented helping.

The research activities organized by the Clinic aim to avoid these weaknesses. The counselling activities are developed and examined systemically 1) context-inclusively, 2) in 'real world' settings and with settlement staff (counsellors, trainees) as a target group, 3) in a non-clinical context, and 4) by recognizing of the heterogeneous nature of explanations required for the interpretation of counselling interactions.

The counsellor-training programme contains an action research-based R/D project that continues throughout the programme. Typically these projects are connected to real-life development needs of the educational institutions where the school counsellor trainees work. An institution receiving immigrant students would benefit from a R/D project carried out by a trainee. In an ideal situation 2-3 trainees would share the same interests, such as developing an integrated plan for guidance and counselling of immigrant students in their respective institutions. They could combine their forces, share the common items, and obtain materials and consultation from the Clinic.

School counsellor trainees who enter the training program with no specific development needs "ordered" by their educational institutions could participate in on-going research and/or development projects carried out by the Clinic. The Clinic would welcome help in carrying out the projects and the students would have an opportunity to develop their knowledge and skills in multicultural counselling research. In addition to the school counsellor trainees, qualified school counsellors interested in post graduate studies could be involved in research and/or development projects organized by the Clinic. School counsellors with research ideas not initiated by the Clinic could seek supervision and partnership from the Clinic for the benefit of both. Clinic has planned to investigate and develop, for example, context-inclusive assessment measures and tests for identifying other-culture clients' welfare, educational needs, work skills or their experiences of counselling interactions. Also the comparative studies of counselling the Finnish clients and clients from other cultures are needed to find out the meaning of culture in counselling processes.

Practical training

An increase in the multicultural counselling competence is unlikely among counsellors if their training is abstracted from everyday helping contexts. Emphasis should be put on training in contextual interactions with skill practice in diverse contexts and on direct feedback from these interactions (Bandura, 1982; Deutsch, 1994). The role of training is to produce contextual competence, which will enable the counsellors to become aware of the specific features of each counselling context in terms of client needs. For example, differences in gender ideology (Berry et al., 1992; Denzin, 1992; Hofstede, 1984) brought refugees and migrants into a new and problematic relationship especially in the private domains of social relationships and psychological welfare, opening up the area of male-female relations for re-examination (Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997). The gender of the client as well as of the worker filtered the awareness of immigrant needs.

Contextual findings of multicultural competence have direct implications for the professional training of school counsellors and the organisation of their work in Finland. In any attempts to improve school counsellors' multicultural competence, professional training contributed by the Clinic aim to offer them opportunities a) to work in 'real cross-cultural' settings, b) to become aware of their own cultural boundaries in counselling, c) to get a model of the culturally aware performance in cross-cultural counselling, d) to obtain and use feedback in different cross-cultural counselling settings, and e) to have opportunity to reflect on their own competence, particularly

related to the context of immigrant psychological and socio-cultural integration (Bandura, 1982; Matinheikki-Kokko, 1997; Pope-Davis & Coleman, 1997; Sue, Arredondo & Roderick, 1992; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sundberg & Sue, 1989).

Practical training in the Clinic or in educational institutions can be connected with research and development projects. Action research - based thinking allows using multiple approaches and methods that can be applied in real-life teaching and guidance and counselling situations and settings. In this connection, small-scale action research approaches can be understood as an educational tool that helps the counsellor systematically pay attention to critical incidents and aspects that can be used in enhancing learning. Action research may also produce fresh ideas how to develop multicultural teaching and counselling and to serve as a tool to produce new knowledge or at least new perspectives on existing knowledge to enhance its applicability to multicultural contexts where the knowledge has not been used before.

An important part of the practical training is feedback received from the clients and from the supervisors and reflective thinking of the counsellor with which the counsellor can utilize his or her own experiences and the feedback. In this process it is important to point out the meaning of cultural awareness and sensitivity combined with courage to confront also difficult and conflicting issues included in counselling processes. It is useful to seek consensus but also the fruitfulness of conflicts should be addressed while keeping in mind that conflicting views do not inhibit true acceptance of personalities and plurality.

Development of learning materials for multicultural education and guidance

Another area where school counsellors' trainees or qualified school counsellors and teachers from schools could work together with the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling is development of learning materials for multicultural education and guidance. This is an important area because many educational institutions lack the needed materials. This shortage refers particularly to learning materials written in the native language of a specific ethnic group speaking a rare language. The Clinic could seek partners for planning and translating the materials and funding e.g. from the National School Board that has produced many of these materials. The materials can be about teaching Finnish, manuals about the Finnish society describing the services available for immigrants and their rights and responsibilities, manuals about the Finnish Education system and the services available for students and their parents and other relevant materials. Interaction between the in the planning process is very important in that it is a way to make sure that the content is correct and that understandable for the immigrants.

Manuals written for teachers and school counsellors working with students and their parents, who come from a country where the culture considerably differs from the Finnish culture, are needed. Also manual describing the education system and methods and content of instruction used in educational institutions of a target country are very useful for teachers and school counsellors. In these projects, school counsellors or teachers can work together with people from the target countries to check the content is correct and updated.

Establishing collaborative networks

As noted earlier, currently about half the Finnish school counsellors have immigrant students in their educational institutions and the number of immigrant students is rising in many regions. Frequent requests on materials and in-service training in Multicultural Education and counselling clearly indicate that the importance of cultural backgrounds of students has been recognized among teachers and school counsellors. Currently many teachers and counsellors, particularly ones working

in smaller communities, lack support from teachers, school counsellors and other people sharing the same multicultural challenges. Therefore, the Clinic for multicultural counselling and the School counsellor education programme can facilitate networking among people interested in multicultural education and counselling. This networking can be done within a school or at local, regional, national, or international level.

Usually the internal networks and local networks are the most important ones. These networks have the advantage that members of the network can meet face-to-face, any other form of meeting cannot replace a form of meeting that. Regional, national, and particularly international networks are often administered and used over the Internet using e-mail networks and WWW-sites. It is also useful to remember that during these times of the Internet we can still use telephones at reasonable rates at all other levels, except the international. Building functional networks over the Internet requires systematic approaches and organization of the activities.

Currently it seems that quite many teachers and school counsellors have already understood the applicability of e-mail and WWW environments in the Internet. However, there is still plenty of work left to show how the Internet and the new technology in general can be used in education and counselling and to teach the needed know-how. (For more discussion on this topic see e.g. Puukari 1997) One activity in the networks could be to identify useful WWW-sites and e-mail lists for multicultural education and counselling. Members in a network can exchange this information with each other. Many teachers and counsellors may first either fear the technology itself or doubt whether one can find any useful information by using them. The best way to start is to teach the basics and demonstrate the usefulness by showing e.g. how real-life questions can be transformed into key words used in an Internet search machine, such as AltaVista. Many libraries provide introductory courses on using the Internet, and these services are free for all users. As an example of concrete activities at the Clinic, we have gathered WWW-sites containing information on research centres studying immigrant and multicultural issues and are planning to include these addresses on our WWW-pages that hopefully will be opened during the next spring.

Participating lectures and small-group discussions and various forms of group work
Teachers in the School counsellor education programme can participate in lectures, small-group discussions and different forms of group work with immigrants attending courses organized by the clinic. For instance, this autumn school counsellor trainees and teachers with an immigrant background had a day together. The day started with each teacher briefly introducing him or her to others. During the day there were two presentations, one about the background of the clinic for multicultural counselling and one about current international projects in a polytechnic where intercultural communication and forms of cooperation are important. The end of the day was reserved for small-group discussions about multicultural topics freely chosen by members of each group. The groups had active and fruitful discussions e.g. about differences in school cultures of Finland and Russia. Many teachers wished there were more time for the discussions.

Various forms of group work could also be used during the special theme days. The multicultural counselling literature presents a good selection of group activities and tasks that can enhance awareness of the meaning of different cultures in a counselling process. The advantage of these activities is that people are offered an opportunity to study and confront their thoughts and attitudes in a variety of ways that utilize the principles of experiential learning. Exploring one's own thoughts and attitudes and reflecting upon them in-group discussions is often much more effective than listening a lecture or reading a book. Lectures and books may work well in structuring the field of multicultural education and counselling and in providing conceptual tools for teachers and

counsellors, but often the most powerful insights that affect one's attitudes and behaviour come from experiences obtained in face-to-face situations and in tasks that require not only intellectual, but also emotional processing.

Designing and organizing in-service training
One possibility for linking the School counsellor education programme with the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling is to encourage school counsellor trainees and immigrants to participate in designing and organizing in-service training for different educational institutions regarding multicultural education and counselling. The planning process can be built according to the principles of collaborative learning. Planning groups consisting of teachers and school counsellors representing different school levels and cultural backgrounds are a fruitful base for developing new ideas for multicultural education and counselling training.

4.6 Conclusion

The following conclusions are summarized as a point of departure for developing the construct of multicultural counselling competence and improving the school counsellors' competence in training:

1. A context-sensitive view of multicultural counselling competence;
2. An interactive view focusing on the multicultural counselling competence in the actual cross-cultural interaction processes, but also on the broader political, cultural and economic context of society in which the cross-cultural counselling interactions take place;
3. An emphasis on a contextual and developmental view of counsellors' multicultural competence having direct implications for the professional training of school counsellors and the organisation of their work in Finland. Professional training should offer counsellors opportunities to work on their competence, particularly related to the psychological integration of an other-culture client;
4. Development of context-inclusive measurement and research designs combined with an individual oriented cognitive-cultural view of multicultural awareness. It is necessary in future studies to combine both case-based and person-based approaches for studying the counsellors' individual patterns of competence and their development over time as well as the factors that determine these patterns. Indeed, further context-inclusive studies are needed to investigate experiences in cross-cultural interactions also from the point of view of clients. The use of self-reported measures should allow us to compare how clients and counsellors experience interactions. These client-counsellor interactions could also be observed and related to self-reflected material. Also comparative studies of counselling Finnish clients and clients from other cultures, are needed to find out the meaning of culture in counselling processes.

The very nature of multicultural education and counselling is something that should be understood as a construction process based on well-argumented basic principles as a staring point from where we continue with interaction and creativity. True recognition of this construction process means that although the basic structures and principles can and must be decided, many essential elements of the research and education and counselling process itself will be shaped during the process. For instance, evaluation information collected from school counsellor trainees at the end of each contact teaching period clearly shows that the trainees appreciate the opportunities to make their own suggestions, to participate in organizing and implementing instruction, and possibilities to exchange

thoughts with each other. The role of educators is important in coordinating, guiding, and evaluating learning processes, but the dominance of traditional teacher-centered approaches belongs to the past.

Currently the funding of the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling is project-based. This is a typical case for many activities in the field of multicultural education, and in many other fields as well. The problem is that short-interval funding requires manpower resources to be used in raising funds and searching funding from various sources. It would be nice to see that multicultural education and counselling receive a more stable status in the Finnish society. This would enable more effective long-term planning and implementation of research and education activities.

In the long run, one of the most important things is to build theoretical base for the Finnish immigrant policies, particularly in the area of education and guidance in working life, where the special features of the Finnish society and culture are considered. This will be a long process that requires collaboration at many level of the society, particularly with the immigrants themselves. Combining the resources of the Clinic for Multicultural Counselling and the School counsellor education programme and other partners can enrich and enhance the creation of applicable theories.

One of the future visions at the University of Jyväskylä is to enhance the field of multicultural and intercultural education and counselling as part of the on-going internationalization process and make the university an important centre in the field. The Clinic for Multicultural Counselling and the School counsellor education programme look forward to make a substantial contribution to make this vision come true.

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PART THREE: PRACTICAL EXAMPLES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES

1. CACTUS: COLLABORATING ACROSS CULTURES TO UNDERSTAND THE SCIENCES

Gina Cantoni

Northern Arizona University's CACTUS project focused on Arizona's Native American students and their needs, and provided financial assistance to 36 master teachers (including 26 Native Americans) from 22 school sites. They are now prepared to train their colleagues on how to work with Native Americans and other minorities, especially in the areas of math and science.

Funding for this program was provided by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), U.S. Department of Education, in an effort to alleviate the severe shortage of teachers prepared to meet the educational needs of Arizona's Native American children in grades K-8.

The final report of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force pointed out that Native American students experienced the highest school failure and dropout rates in the nation (U.S. Department of Education, 1991). The project discussed in this paper is one of the many attempts to reverse this trend; it seems to have had a positive impact on the current situation and to hold great promise for future progress in our state.

Arizona contains 21 reservations, inhabited by large and small tribal groups representing an amazing variety of languages and cultures. Most of their children are enrolled in public schools, but they can also attend Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools or a variety of contract or private institutions. Although an increasing number of tribal households are now using English instead of their traditional language, many Native American children are considered Limited English Proficient (LEP) since they fall two or more years behind grade level norms not only in terms of oral proficiency but also of literacy.

Instruction to LEPs must be delivered by a person who has earned a bilingual or ESL endorsement in addition to being fully certified to teach in Arizona. However, large numbers of students who have been assessed as LEP do not receive the services to which they are entitled because of the severe shortage of teachers who have met the requirements for endorsement. Many of the LEP students who do not receive such services are Native American. The endorsement requirements can be met by taking 21 hours of coursework that leads to the competencies identified by the Arizona Department of Education. All these courses are available from Northern Arizona University and can be taken as part of a 36-hour Master's degree in Bilingual/Multicultural Education.

The 36 CACTUS teachers received intensive training in math and science education during the summer of 1993; for the remaining two years they took courses leading to the completion of an advanced degree at a rate of at least six credit hours per academic year. Most met this obligation during summer school, but many were able to enroll in an additional course each semester, although they were teaching full time in their districts.

The CACTUS institute was held on the NAU campus during the Second Summer Session of 1993. The participants represented 22 schools located on or bordering one of Arizona's Native American reservations. Of the 36 CACTUS participants, 26 are Native American from six different tribes. The largest group was Navajo; others were Hopi, Hualapai, Pima, Tohono O'odham, and Western Shoshone.

In addition to earning six hours of credit from the CACTUS workshop, they continued to take courses leading to ESL or bilingual endorsements and/or advanced degrees. By the end of the grant, 28 of the 36 had graduated with a Master's degree and three were enrolled in a doctoral program at NAU.

The CACTUS institute was conducted daily for five weeks, from 8 to 4. The two principal instructors in the program have earned national recognition for their expertise. Dr. Deborah Tippins (a Potawatomi Indian from Wisconsin), professor at Georgia State University, taught the science class, and Dr. William Speer, professor at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, was responsible for the math component. They communicated well with each other and frequently engaged in team-teaching as a demonstration of cross-cultural and interdisciplinary collaboration. Both received very high evaluations from the participants and from the administrators and observers who interacted with them in and out of class.

The science component focused on the following issues:

- What is the nature of science and scientific knowledge?
- What teachers do when they teach science?
- What do students do when they learn?
- How can metaphors help teachers become reflective practitioners, and students become reflective learners?
- How can a teacher provide learning environments that promote active learning and responsibility?
- What can be done to encourage females and minorities to pursue a career in science?
- How can constructivism serve as a referent for thinking about science teaching and learning?
- How can science be taught as part of an interdisciplinary curriculum?

Because of her Native American affiliation, Dr. Tippins was able to emphasize the cultural component of teaching. She generously shared information about her Potawatomi traditions and norms, elicited input from the Native participants about their own cultures and related this information to the teaching and learning of science. A couple of distinct approaches used by Dr. Tippins include the creating of individual culture maps, the development of metaphors about teaching, and the adaptation of lessons to create compatibility with the students' cultures. Dr. Tippins' theoretical model of teaching and learning seems to move away from pure constructivism toward analogic thinking, and indicates that the so-called "scientific method", which is the foundation of science instruction in our schools, tends to ignore the moral nature of the relationships addressed in science. To ignore moral issues might conflict with the holistic interpretation of the world held by most Native Americans.

The math training focused on the identification and analysis of curriculum issues, evaluation strategies and teaching techniques in mathematics as they apply to learners with limited English proficiency. The teachers were expected to:

- Identify the essential objectives of a contemporary mathematics program for children grades K-8;
- Compare and contrast various curricular models for mathematics;
- Discuss research findings concerning a variety of issues in mathematics education, such as the effective use of manipulatives;
- Explore problems and exercises to use in the classroom when planning instruction to meet the needs of diverse learners;
- Participate in a variety of hands-on experiences;
- Explore concepts in practical contexts.

Not being a Native American, Dr. Speer made an effort to find out what the participants knew or needed to know in terms of cultural compatibility. Thus, he was a good model of a non-Native teacher who, when working in a Native context, shows respect for the students' background, obtains their collaboration and responds to their input. He also encouraged the class to reflect on the pedagogical principles stated in the NCTM (National Council of Teachers of Mathematics) documents (1989: 1991) instead of replicating the contexts, approaches and experiences of their own school years.

The CACTUS institute has been, and continues to be, the objet of formal and informal evaluation based not only on the data assembled before, during, and immediately after the project (questionnaires, interviews, learning logs, observations, etc.) but also on case studies of the participants' productivity and effectiveness. We have obtained an abundance of data about the participants' increasing awareness of the characteristics of their students and the approaches most likely to enhance their ability and motivation.

In terms of linguistic factors, much of the literature addressing the teaching of math and science to minorities assumes that limited knowledge of English, the language of instruction, is the main cause of the minority children's problems in these disciplines. Instruction in ESL, with or without bilingual support, tends to be the approach recommended for helping LEP students achieve academic success in the content areas, including math and science (Mather and Chiodo, 1994). However, many factors that interfere with learning have little to do with linguistic differences between home and school. A generation ago, Navajo families spoke Navajo, but most of them now speak English; Navajo is rapidly becoming a foreign language. This shift has occurred not only among Navajos, but also among most other tribes (Cantoni, 1996). In planning the CACTUS institute, we took the position that the problems experienced by Native American students are related not to lack of English proficiency, but to limited exposure to academic discourse as well as various degrees of incompatibility between Western "scientific" beliefs and the cultures of students' homes and communities.

Only a few CACTUS participants who work with primary children from remote areas of a reservation mentioned that they sometimes use the tribal language in the classroom. They feel that this practice may help these pupils feel at home and understand what is being taught. These teachers also help keep endangered languages alive by using them in meaningful situations. As far as English language skills are concerned, there was strong agreement among the participants that

math and science instruction can, and should, enhance the development of literacy and the enrichment of vocabulary.

In terms of culture, the CACTUS program emphasized metacommunication, encouraging the participants to reflect on their own cultural experiences and interactions across cultures and across disciplines, and discuss them with their peers. This was a necessary fist step, because, like most people, regardless of ethnicity, the participants tended to be unaware of their own implicit assumptions which were rooted in the cultures and subcultures of their homes. In order to integrate Native culture into the curriculum, and to balance traditional and contemporary components, the participants had to share information of increasing complexity. From the beginning, the Native Americans were generous in sharing what they knew about their tribal customs and beliefs.

Much information was provided about taboos that might alienate Native students from the science classroom, such as:

- handling or dissecting anything dead
- studying ants, owls, spiders
- using beans or corn
- touching skeletons
- visiting Indian ruins.

Not all these are taboo for each tribe or group; community members should be consulted before embarking on a project. There are commonalties as well as differences in the norms and practices of various tribes, as well as individual differences within each group, but certain spiritual beliefs and values are embedded in all aspects of Native life. It is also important to keep in mind the dynamic (as opposed to static) quality of culture. Things change in the Native, as well as in the Western world.

Knowing that Native peoples view plants and animals as sacred, teachers will understand some of the restrictions on using them for experiments, find some creative accommodation or substitution, or ask more experienced colleagues for suggestions. In studying the body parts of animals, for example, Navajo students will be comfortable using sheep, since they are butchered and used for food; in studying the human body, they will prefer plastic models of skeletons to handling real bones. Nature is sacred to the Native people; whereas Anglos try to control it, the Natives belong to it. This philosophy is in harmony with current ecological positions, and productive exchanges of information arise from it, in recognition of the wisdom of indigenous practices. Some participants who work with Native students from different tribes as well as with non-Natives reported success in engaging the learners in cross-cultural exchanges with each other, for everyone has something special and unique to contribute to the common pool of knowledge.

In terms of learning and communicative styles, the majority of participants felt that Native and non-Native children of comparable ages are alike, rather than different, inasmuch as they are all members of the human race. Within these broad commonalties, the Native and non-Native groups each have some distinct characteristics and preferences, but with considerable individual differences. According to Swisher and Pavel (1994), attention to learning styles is important for understanding the behavior of Native American young people in education setting, although there is considerable diversity within each group.

In general, native students tend to prefer to work in groups rather than individually; most are field-sensitive rather than field-independent, and benefit from a learning environment rich in tactile and

visual experiences. They prefer to learn from observation than from verbal instruction and tend to consider the whole picture before focusing on individual components. They do not like to display a skill they have not yet mastered well, preferring instead to practice it in private, without risking public embarrassment. They also need a longer wait time before they feel ready to answer a question.

In addressing the subject of motivation, the participants recommended that educators strive for congruence with the learners' individual and communicative styles. They also stressed the need to include the contemporary aspects of the students' culture along with the traditional ones. Both components are undergoing continuous change; for example, traditional Natives tend to avoid eye contact, but this custom is no longer observed rigorously, especially by the young. In general, Native students are motivated by techniques and practices such as a project approach, group work, the use of videos, role playing and story-telling, a variety of extracurricular activities, parental involvement and the integration of tribal culture, music, legends and traditions into the curriculum.

In the area of mathematics, the participants agreed that most of their students like to explore and use manipulatives. They have little difficulty with computational skills but do not know how to deal with word problems, and have little interest in solving those that do not relate to the context of their lives. It was noted that many Native students will no feel motivated to think about word problems based on situations that seem "contrary-to-fact". Such material is not difficult to modify; for example, instead of assigning a problem about "your uncle needs to buy gas for his pickup" to students who do not have an uncle, or whose uncle does not drive a pickup, the teacher can create a story that illustrates the same mathematical concepts in a different and more appropriate setting.

In the area of science, the participants recommended an activity-based curriculum rather than a textbook-oriented one; many researchers agree (Zwick and Miller, 1996). They also emphasized the need for cultural awareness and sensitivity, as has been already mentioned. Incorporating Native culture into the teaching of science involves much more than the avoidance of taboos; in indicates respect for and interest in the students' way of life, and makes instructional content more relevant. A sensitive teacher will include Native American games, legends and celebrations into the curriculum, making sure that certain stories (e.g. Coyote tales) and activities (e.g. string games) are restricted to the proper times of the year.

The CACTUS participants gave strong evidence of their increasing ability to serve as role models for their students and as trainers for other professional educators. For example, at the conclusion of the institute, each of the participants completed a lesson design task assigned by Dr. Tippins. Each of them had to develop a lesson plan for a favorite science lesson suitable for a particular grade. In addition, each was to describe how this lesson could be adapted so that it would be meaningful, interesting and suitable for students from a different culture.

The lessons covered a wide variety of topics. The Anglo teachers tended to choose subjects that are normally included in the elementary science curriculum, such as magnets, plate tectonics and ecological cycles; the others seemed to prefer topics related to their students' lives: plants (such as the prickly pear and the yucca), animals (spiders, worms, insects) and seasonal cycles. In the modified version of the lesson, the Anglos planned additional collaborative activities, vocabulary learning and opportunities to involve Native American staff knowledgeable about the needs and preferences of Native students. Those who knew of potential cultural conflicts made appropriate adjustments such as replacing corn or beans with other seeds when working with Hopi children, who consider them sacred.

The avoidance of taboo practices was an integral component of most of the lessons designed by the Native Americans. For example, they recommended studying bees instead of ants, and using plastic bones instead of real ones. In addition to incorporating Native games and legends, they emphasized the need to consult the elders and obtain their permission before introducing a traditional concept or procedure such as the Mescal Agave bake, which is part of Hualapai culture. The Native participants also pointed out that tribal governments often disseminate information about topics that should or could be incorporated into the curriculum, for example, the clan system.

The practice of consulting community members, parents or elders puts teachers in touch with the students' families and can lead to increased parental involvement. While exploring the topic of preventing tooth decay, for example, some children could ask their elders to tell them about their childhood and others could ask their parents to tell them about the dentist. Information about traditional and current dietary and hygienic practices that help keep teeth clean and strong should be shared and discussed in class.

The lessons were shared, discussed, and revised, so that the participants returned to their school with a broader knowledge and understanding of how to go about adapting lessons to fit the students. They were also prepared to discuss and demonstrate these strategies to their colleagues and to new faculty.

The conclusions reached by the CACTUS participants parallel those reached by prominent leaders and scholars addressing the concerns of indigenous peoples all over the world. For example, the importance of community participation is emphasized by Benavides (1996) in her article dealing with political participation and sustainable development among the indigenous people in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia.

The need for local control, and how to go about implementing it successfully, is only one of the many topics CACTUS teachers are well prepared to address "so that pedagogy and policy are not imposed from the outside, but genuinely represent the interests of Indian students, communities and schools" (McCarty, 1993: 30).

The current education system rarely, if ever, exposes Native American students and teachers to traditional ways of knowing. Most of what is taught to Native American students fails to promote a positive identity and self-image because their traditional heritage is not tied to current learning. Historically, science and mathematics instruction has been based on the assumption that the learning of these disciplines could be best accomplished from a single perspective. Today's educators and school reform advocates, on the other hand, tend to agree with Mehlinger's statement that "what we know of the world consists of human interpretations of reality" (1995: 76).

The fact that enrollment and retention in science and mathematics courses are still unacceptably low in many developing countries is primarily attributed to discrepancies between course content and local knowledge. Familiar subject matter that could be used to lay the foundations of the discipline, capture pupils' interest, and challenge their interest is largely neglected. The content must be made more appealing by linking it to the learners' experiences and daily lives. This situation has been documented in Indonesia, Nigeria, Niger (Kroma, 1995), Finland (Corson, 1995) and Australia (Cantonia, 1991).

During the CACTUS institute, the participants shared their knowledge with each other, and are committed to sharing it with others. The common body of knowledge they were able to assemble is indeed much greater than any of their individual contributions; thus they modeled for each other what we hope will continue to be a culturally sensitive and pedogogically sound learning process. We are sure that this experience will benefit their students and their peers, and hope that it will gain the attention of a much wider audience.

Those who educate Native American children are responsible for preparing them to participate successfully in a modern technological society while at the same time assisting them in maintaining their bonds with the traditional as well as contemporary aspects of their own cultures (Van Hamme, 1996). Western mathematics and science are an integral part of contemporary education; unfortunately, math and science are two educational and professional fields in which Native Americans and Alaskan Natives have been and continue to be underrepresented, in spite of the fact that they have made and continue to make significant contributions to our knowledge of medicine, astronomy and ecology. Traditional Native knowledge has been shown to contain valuable information concerning scientific principles. The fact that this knowledge is rapidly eroding causes great concern to indigenous communities not only in the U.S., but in the entire world. The CACTUS participants are committed to reversing this trend in their respective schools and communities.

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2. WOVEN FOLKLORE: COMPUTERS PROMOTING CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

Pekka Parkkinen, Erkki Sutinen

2.1 Introduction

Multicultural cooperation requires that participants understand the cultural background and identity of all the partners. In this respect, computers provide the cooperation with a new and interesting instrument. A team of students from two schools, one in Tanzania, another in Finland, implements a multimedia version of an African folklore story. A computer serves as a platform for genuine cooperation: the whole team works on one electronic artefact, despite of the members' geographical distance. The collaborative process helps participants to clarify their own cultural backgrounds while getting acquainted also with that of their distant partners.

Much of today's education is carried out in multicultural settings: student groups consist of members from different cultures. The pattern is repeated in working life where international cooperation needs representatives from several countries. While multicultural in principle, the teams often stick to an "international" way of doing things and, therefore, do not make use of the full potential of the members' cultural backgrounds. However, genuine multicultural cooperation requires what we call cross-cultural understanding: the participants understand the cultural background and identity of all the partners. Instead of a rootless international atmosphere, cross-cultural understanding provides cooperative projects with heterogeneous perspectives, important also to creative group processes (Kuitunen et al. 1996).

Cross-cultural understanding is never a state but rather a process. The focus of this paper can be stated as follows: computers can support the process of learning one's own cultural identity and, at the same time, getting inside a foreign picture of the world. Especially, we present how a team of students from two different cultures can apply computers to find new models for their cooperation, despite the geographical distance between their countries.

Computers provide cross-cultural understanding with a new and interesting instrument. For example, multimedia always reflects the inner ideas and values of its designer. If the designers of a multimedia project come from different cultures, they have to go deeply into the cultural roots under the material which is displayed on the screen. This implies several discussions on the contents, even the details, of the multimedia product they are designing. Very little of this encounter is needed if computers are only used for browsing ready-made multimedia.

To encourage a multimedia design team to work not only on the technical implementation or the visual appearance of the final product, but also on its content, one has to find a theme which raises problems and makes the designers find answers to them. We chose the folklore theme since traditional stories usually deal with questions which are important to any human being. By woven folklore we emphasize the process which always belongs to story telling. Over the time, folklore has

got new interpretations in new cultural surroundings. Computers offer a now tool to carry this folklore weaving process; thus, a design session using a computer is an electronic counterpart of ancient story telling by campfires. However, a computer helps to overcome not just the geographical but also the cultural distance. It is not just a technical aid but gives qualitatively new possibilities (Brooks 1997).

The present study lies in the borderland of several research areas, such as computer science, education, computer-aided learning, educational technology, and information technology in developing countries. Like in any study, flavoured by multidisciplinary approach, we pay special attention to specifying the goals of our research project. In our case, the project shares the perspectives of constructing and evaluating. The first phase of our research project, described in this paper, concentrates on finding a novel way to utilize computers in multicultural education. The second phase will be more of an evaluative character on how we have succeeded and how the scheme could be developed for further use. Thus, this paper concentrates on the computer-aided learning point of view, being more construction-oriented than evaluation-oriented. However, we want to emphasize that in practice the two phases go hand in hand, that is, getting feedback (evaluation) from the process helps us to establish new techniques to support the process (construction) (for a dialogue between computer scientists and educationalists, see Meisalo et al. 1997). In this respect, we follow the action research method.

In the following chapter, we start by describing the African partner of our project, the Kidugala Secondary School in southern Tanzania. Then, we will introduce the computer-aided folklore weaving process between the African and Finnish students. We will also highlight some general reasons for using folklore in our project, and review other areas of education which are currently involved in using stories. Last, we present the research horizons, opened by our project.

2.2 Kidugala Secondary School

Kidugala Secondary School is in Tanzania. It is located in a rural area about 700 km to the west from the East Coast of Tanzania. The nearest town and telephone are 45 km away and roads to reach the place are dirt. In other words, Kidugala is far from all civilization. On the other hand the Kidugala Secondary School is not so far from civilization of which it is in the focus. The O and A level of the school have a total of about 200 students.

Kidugala Secondary School was founded in 1982 when the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania realized that there were not enough places for all children in secondary schools. Only five percent of those who had completed their primary education can continue to the secondary level. Also the church needed well educated workers. So they decided to open secondary school to offer more places in secondary education.

In the 80's there were several economical problems in Tanzania and these had also impact on the church and its institutions. From the very beginning the school had problems and the diocese leaders asked help from Europe. The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission responded by sending a mathematics teacher to Kidugala in 1986. He was working there up to 1993 when another Finnish teacher replaced him. At school there are 18 teachers. Two of them are Finnish and the rest are Tanzanians. Now the economical situation is better and the school has gained good results in national examinations. Last year the O level was ranked to be the 20th out of 506 schools and the A level as the 5th out of 108 schools in whole Tanzania.

Most of the students are coming from the distance which is less than 100 km from Kidugala. This means that they are children of farmers. In Tanzania it means that they are living in small clay houses and they get their food from their own maize fields. Average maize field for one family is about four acres which is cultivated by hand hoes.

When these children come to the Kidugala Secondary School they somehow enter to a new culture. They need to wear uniforms, obey school rules, study every day and follow punctually the school timetable. They need to learn English because all teaching is in English, also the text books. They meet new equipment especially in science class.

In the end of the year 1994 we got eight new computers as a donation. We put them into a room which we furnished as a computer classroom. In 1995 we worked with the computers only with the A level students. They learnt the basics of computing, such as text processing, drawing, and an introduction to databases. During that year we tried to find out the best way to guide our students into the world of computers. It was clear from the syllabus that first they should learn basic concepts of computing in Forms I and II. According to the syllabus, programming should be started at Form III and continued to the Form VI. Knowing that we decided to try programming with a small group of Form III and Form IV students. We used Visual Basic as programming language. Our aim was to program an interactive Tanzanian story.

2.3 Weaving Folklore in a Tanzanian-Finnish Partnership

2.3.1 Multimedia Representation of an African Story

We carried out a preliminary study by conducting a programming course at the Kidugala Secondary School. A group of ten O level students, with no prior expertise in using were asked to implement a multimedia presentation of a familiar folklore story, telling the origin of stress in the tribal society (Parkkinen et al. 1996). First, the participants of the team were taught the basic text processing and painting software. The students practiced their computer skills by writing the story first in Swahili and then in English (Fig. 1), the language used at Tanzanian O and A levels.

In the Haya's tradition story the word "enaku" or stress is a nomal situation which was there from the beginning. The origin of Wahaya had never live under the stress of anything so they didn't know whatstress or trouble mean. IT belived that stress on trouble brought in the sociciety of Wahaya (Bukoba) from the following things.

A person named karugendo was very famous because of witch – divine, he was able to call and mention even twenty eighty of names of his grand-grand fathers. It was belived that before madeany decision he asked his ancestors. For example the old hunters came to him to ask for blessing before entered to the wildness hard wildness were used for hunting. This work took more than four abd five days fighting with terrible animals like bufflo, leopard rhino and some poisoners snake. Without blessing from karugendo it was sure that any one went in that wild would jeopardize his life.

Figure 1. The beginning of the first draft of "stress/ trouble (enaku)" story.

The students also illustrated the story by computers (Fig. 2). Since the karugendos, or witch doctors, still have an important role in the society, the illustrations raised a lot of discussion in the group, especially when they programmed animation for the story. Also, some of the illustration were extremely realistic when describing the executions of those sentenced to death. Moreover, the students could not follow any pattern from electronic games since they had not seen any of them

before the project. To conclude, a computer was a tool which made it possible to discuss even taboo-like subjects in a group.

The last two weeks of the four weeks' project concentrated on programming. Students learnt the basics of the Visual Basic programming environment. Students needed programming skills to make the story alive and interactive. Since the story was familiar to the students, they knew how they wanted to program it. This motivated them in learning: "How do I make the eye of the skull twinkle?". Programming was also important for taking the electronic version of the story to the Finnish context.

We presented the results for Finnish participants of a similar but more technical-oriented course. The course was intended for a group of twenty people, mostly farther with their sons. Although a prototype, the Finnish team could get the idea of the story and get hints on how to develop it further on.

2.3.2 Weaving Project

Based on our experiences, we are continuing the project by developing, or weaving, the folklore material further in the Finnish context, with a group of upper secondary school students. The Finnish partner of the project will start as a standard course of the Vihti upper secondary school. The purpose is to carry on the weaving process as interactively and intertwiningly as possible over the different cultures: both the Finnish and the Tanzanian partners will work on the same material in turn. In the beginning, the Finnish group will concentrate on the technical implementation, due to its expertise and better availability of the technology, even at students' homes. Later on, the roles will be more flexible: the story will be linked to the Finnish tale heritage, and the Tanzanian students can program even more advanced details.

In order to enable flexible cooperation, the process will utilize available multimedia and telematics technology. The most difficult problem in the communication will be the poor telematic connections in Tanzania.

In addition to the mentioned partners, also other organizations are involved in the project:

- Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (FELM) has a long tradition in supporting schools in developing countries. It has been financing Kidugala Secondary School for years, and has been also sending teachers to the school. The project is connected to FELM for these reasons which guarantee the sustainability of the project;

- Vihti Adult Education Center organizes the teaching of the applied computer technology and links the activity to its other courses, like those of craft (batik) and languages (Swahili). The project also belongs to its program of international cooperation, funded by the National Board of Education;

- University of Helsinki, Department of Computer Science is linked to the project by one of its researchers. To the research area of computer uses in education, developing countries offer challenges where computers can partly compensate continuous lack of teachers and teaching material. This implies also need for new design paradigms for educational software.

There has also been a preliminary discussion to cooperate with the Department of Educational Technology, University of Twente.

2.3.3. Applicability of Folklore in Computer-aided Learning

The organization of the project aims at starting a two-way traffic on the information road between Tanzania and Finland. While Tanzania belongs to the IT (information technology) consuming countries, both in terms of hardware and software, Finland is one of the producers. Our idea is to import pieces of software, made in Tanzania, to Finland. However, any software is dependent on the technological solutions it uses, like the programming language and equipment; in this respect, both Tanzania and Finland belong to the consumers. As novice users of this technology, Tanzanian students might find out fresh ways to use it to reinterpret ancient stories, having roots in the early history of the mankind. In their folklore, Tanzanian people still have the link to their original tradition, and they are not yet impregnated with supranational story telling, as represented in much of commercial entertaining or even educational software.

But using folklore has also other reasons. Folklore reflects the internal world of a human being (Bettelheim 1976). It gives tools to deal with one's own existential questions, at a safe distance. More pragmatically, stories also support moral education. For a story listener, it is easier to assess the decisions of the story characters than his/her own. To make these kinds of stories interactive by computer would give the "listener" a possibility to experiment with a choice of decisions and see their implications.

The environment of a folklore story is usually well-known to its listener. Although not quite modern, it carries the cultural heritage in it. This is how it gives an easy access to history. If one implements a story as a multimedia, these access points offer natural links to historical events.

Various aspects of folklore allow learners to interpret them from their own perspectives. A computer is a suitable tool for this interpretation process. Recently, stories have been used also in computer science education (Moser 1997; Wolz et al. 1997).

2.4 Research Questions

The initial goal of using computers at the Kidugala Secondary School was naturally an educational one. However, education can benefit a great deal from an appropriate multidisciplinary research. This is because the environment for using computers differs a lot from the one in the developed countries and, therefore, needs novel solutions. We state here the goals of the project from the research point of view. The goals serve as starting points, and must be focused in the course of the project:

1. To understand how shifting from plain agricultural background to the age of information super highway (with no industrial phase in between) influences the ways to apply computer technology. For example, are the students who have never seen a computer before and who even do not know what it is for able to learn programming in a short time? What kinds of new applications can they find for the computers? Does the computer-illiteracy lead to creative uses of computers, or vice versa?

2. To specify the applicable multimedia and telematics technology for an intensive cross-cultural learning process between a developed country and a developing one. Does the scheme of developing a multimedia tale over two different cultures result in a new, circular model of software engineering?
3. To analyze how the computer-supported cooperation changes the attitudes towards cultures and their people, including one's own culture. What is the contribution of authoring (vs. plain browsing) multimedia in this learning process? Is our approach suitable for decreasing race conflicts at a local level? How can it make one's own tradition an attractive one, competitive with the products of the supracultural edutainment industry?
4. To make the computer-aided learning and communication process a sustainable one. This requires both computer expertise and working, state-of-art equipment on both sides. Especially for the Tanzanian partner, this guarantees also computer-aided resources to support teaching at school.
5. To develop new schemes for teaching computer science. Creating stories using computers provides the designers with new challenges, and inspires also those students not otherwise interested in programming.

In mathematics education, there have been initiatives to link the material into a multicultural context (Nelson et al. 1993). In computer science, for example algorithms have also everyday counterparts (like various ways to sort books on a shelf, or find a lost item in a messy room). These might offer a natural standpoint to link theoretical issues to a cultural context, or even vice versa.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

The rich African folklore hopefully offers an alternative to the glittering surface of the present one-way cultural transit of the current edutainment. It also makes a developing county into a truly contributing partner in a cross-cultural framework.

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3. COMPARING PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOUR - FOR DEMONSTRATING DIFFERENCE OR DISCOVERING SIMILARITY?

Natalia Turunen, Tarja Leppäaho

At the present moment there is a tendency within the theory of intercultural communication to focus on demonstrating what differences there are on the verbal, para-verbal and non-verbal levels of communication in the behaviour of representatives of different cultures (Schröder 1992: 169-206, Pakkala 1995, Mauranen 1993). It is even recommended that we make wide comparisons of not only two cultures but several (Salo-Lee et al. 1996). In foreign language teaching, however, the contrastive analysis of cultures naturally concerns the two cultures involved, i.e. the learner's own culture and the culture that the foreign language represents. The analysis of cultures should be based on the study of the learner's own experience of communicating with representatives of the foreign culture. This method makes it easier for the learners to contrast the cultures and helps them to gain a deeper understanding of features of the own culture as well as the foreign one. In this way they can gradually build up a sufficient competence of intercultural communication.

Moreover, from a didactic point of view, demonstrating differences might not be the most important goal of making a contrastive analysis of culturally dependent patterns of behaviour. Such an analysis would serve the needs of foreign language teaching and learning better if it would primarily aim at helping the students discover the underlying similarity between the foreign culture and their own. As an argument for the basic similarity of cultures, the teacher should rather focus on showing that the different behaviours are built on common, universally human needs, values and structures. If the teacher talks about features of the foreign culture as different, if she as much as mentions them as foreign or strange to the learners not to talk about putting the apparent difference in the behaviour at the focus, she will easily strengthen the already existing negative stereotypes. This is true, for instance, as concerns the stereotypes that Finns have about Russians and vice versa (see, for instance Kankaansyrjä & Turunen 1997: 117-132).

There are no didactic reasons for the attitude "they are different, don't forget it". On the contrary, this attitude is likely to slow down the process of gaining a good competence of intercultural communication. It can even cause the learner to be less successful in learning the foreign language than what would otherwise be the case. That is, focusing on cultural differences may create new or strengthen the existing negative stereotypes about the foreign culture, and therefore, in a long run, cause the learner to fossilize in his language learning process (see, for instance Ertelt-Vieth 1990).

In order to help the students of Russian language overcome some of the most common difficulties that arise in Finnish-Russian communication due to the students' insufficient understanding of the norms of Russian culture, courses of intercultural communication were organized at the University of Jyväskylä in 1996, 1997. These courses are now organized on a regular basis with the intention of developing further the language skills of the students of Russian language so that they could successfully use the language in the context of Russian culture. The curriculum, naturally, includes other courses as well where the students are introduced to the socio-cultural background of the

language. They are acquainted with descriptions of the verbal behaviour of the Russians in text books and on lectures on Russian culture. They also exercise their knowledge in the classroom by performing special dialogues. But apparently this work is insufficient. It does not seem to help the students to realize the specific norms of the culture that structure the verbal behaviour of the Russian speakers. Since such understanding seemed to be impossible to reach through traditional classroom work, a special course of intercultural communication was organized.

The students on the course were mainly students of the advanced level (but not the top level). They had already passed the obligatory practice period in Russia. On the course, the students were asked to describe such communicative situations that in their opinion usually or often caused problems with the Russians. Let's look at some typical answers.

Finnish learners of Russian stress the shocking experience of communicating with the Russians in the sphere of public service. According to their experience Russian shop assistants or ticket-collectors, for instance, do not smile at you, they seem unwilling to serve their clients. Why is this so? Of course, it is easy to explain that the long Communist rule in Russia is to be blamed for the unfortunate state of affairs, after all people were not supposed to serve others during Communism. Therefore, don't expect to receive a broad American smile from a Russian person. But is this the only explanation, or is it even the correct one? Does it not strengthen the common negative stereotype of Russians as impolite and irrational people? And then again: how come the Russians demonstrate such abundant warmth and kindness among their relatives and friends? Let's try to find a logical explanation to this contradiction.

To begin with, it indeed is a fact that Russians usually do not smile to strangers. To them a smile does not indicate mere politeness, it is not just a compliment to the colocutor. A smile is a component of communicative situations that does not necessarily accompany polite expression. In certain contexts smiling may even be utterly out of place. Russians usually do not smile when they are on duty. In Russian understanding a smile does not fit together with serious work. A special time or occasion is the conditions needed. You do not smile just like that, simply to make your colocutor sympathetic to you. A smile - or a laughter - without a reason is absurd, it is foolish. In their everyday life the Russians do not even differentiate between a smile and a laughter - communicatively they are the same for them!

Smiling for politeness is considered artificial and unnatural. It is criticized and not accepted - it is called a smile for duty. A sincere, friendly smile, on the contrary, accompanies and indicates a close personal relationship with the colocutor.

How then is politeness communicated in Russian? Above all, by intonation. In Russian language intonation is the paraverbal tool by which different modalities can be expressed. In oral communication it is the intonation that creates the tone. In comparison with the Russian intonation Finnish intonation is different: it operates with minor contrasts. And Finnish learners of Russian usually do not realize how important it is in Russian to use the correct sentence intonation. Yes, they do know that in Russian a sentence can be made into a question simply by using a rising intonation, but they do not understand that in addition to that intonation is the means of expressing many other meanings as well. Therefore they do not seek the reason of their failure in a communicative situation in their own, possibly incorrect intonation. It does not dawn at them that if their intonation is incorrect - no matter what words they actually use - the Russian shop assistant might find it difficult to interpret their smile as a sign of politeness. Actually, she might be quite confused and might not know what she should think about their intentions. Naturally, many things

are changing in Russia nowadays. Western patterns of behaviour are taken as examples, but basic cultural norms change very slowly.

The problem of the smile is a clear demonstration of the fact that certain things, like the need to express politeness, for instance, are universally human, but in different cultures the same needs are sometimes met by different behaviours. Thus the surface structures of behaviour - expressions of the state of affairs "I'm your friend, not your enemy" - may actually be in contrast but an analysis which goes all the way down to the basic need that these structures express will help the learner to see the underlying similarity, too. Finding a common core will help the learner to obtain a positive emotional attitude towards the representatives of the foreign culture, and eventually this will develop the students' competence of intercultural communication (Ertelt-Vieth 1990, Kankaansyrjä & Turunen 1997: 117-132). It will no longer be necessary for them to make the question: " Why don't they like me? After all, I only wanted to buy that thing..."

Another concrete example. The students of Russian language tell that they find the behaviour of the Russians somewhat schitzophrenic: first, their behaviour in general is unfriendly, they don't even smile at you, and yet it may happen that somebody that you only just met on the train, for instance, is ready to tell you details of his personal life, or he can even ask you for advice or pour his complaints over you. What should they think about this?

The explanation is simply, that Russians lack the tradition of small talk. The ceremonial part of making acquaintance is unimportant for them, they try to cross the barrier of sincerity as soon as possible and expect their colocutor to behave accordingly. It is not customary to chat about banalities. That is considered a waist of time. One prefers to have a heart-to-heart talk. In this respect the Russians are different from the Finns who are unwilling to open their hearts to strangers. Finns prefer to express their sincerity in other ways - like, for instance, making questions that they consider suitable in the situation from their socio-cultural point of view.

Finnish students have further noticed that the Russians tend to dominate a conversation, they do not give a turn to the colocutor, they talk all the time, without any pauses. Indeed, in Russian culture the pause has negative indications, it is interpreted as a sign of uncertainty, stupidity. In Finnish culture, on the other hand, a pause is a vital part of a discourse and often communicates positive things like considerateness, modesty etc. The Russian attempts to tell as much as possible about himself, about his business and his life, he attempts to express his opinion, he strives to be heard and understood. For a Russian a conversation is a means of self-expression. Therefore, it is important for him to be noticed, to appear brilliant and competent, to answer all the questions made, to dominate the conversation. Finns, being used to long pauses, regard the Russian verbalism as aggressive. They easily get the feeling that the Russians do not have a friendly attitude towards them.

It is also characteristic for the Russians to be unwilling to make a compromise in a debate - they attempt to prove that they have right. The Finns in their turn aim at a consensus. From the point of view of deeper needs, again, both of them actually aim at the same result: showing their competence to carry on a conversation. The underlying norm of communicative behaviour, then, is the same. But the socio-culturally accepted ways of demonstrating obedience to this norm are different in each culture.

A further phenomenon connected with the rules of discourse structure that the students have noticed is the fact that Russians tend to repeat themselves. They say the same thing over and over. A Finnish student thinks that the Russian speaker regards her as stupid, incapable of understanding.

An analysis of the reason of this problem reveals that it may simply be caused by the difficulty that the Russians experience in interpreting Finnish mimics. A Finnish student, especially a female one, will show her understanding by attentive listening. A Russian in a corresponding situation would say something to indicate her understanding or at least show it by facial expressions. When talking to a Finn, a Russian speaker does not know whether he has expressed himself clearly enough, since his Finnish colocutor seems not to react to his speech. Just in case, he repeats it once more.

All the above examples of problems in Finnish-Russian communication were noticed by the students when they reflected on their own experience of different communicative situations. The course then helped them to go deeper instead of staying on the surface where socio-cultural patterns of behaviour really are quite different in many cases. The key to the underlying similarity is to make the correct questions. The student makes the question: Why is the Russian shop assistant so rude to me? Why is she so impolite? The correct question would be: Is a well behaving person supposed to be polite in this situation according to the norms of our cultures? If yes, then how do we, each of us, show politeness in this situation? Do I follow the norms of correct behaviour in this situation? Or is it possible that I am the one who violates the norms? - Or, as concerns discourse structure: What underlying need does a pause serve in my own culture? What does it tell about the speaker? Do the Russians value the same characteristics? If they do, then how do they express it in their conversation? - Helping the students make the correct questions will eventually prevent them from falling back on the common negative stereotypes.

Finally, it is important that the students analyse their own communicative behaviour in the context of Finnish culture as well as in the context of Russian culture. This will make the comparisons fair: it is not only the foreign culture that is different. The difference lies in the interrelationship of the cultures, and even so, most often only on the surface level while deep down there lies a common core of values and needs that structure our communicative behaviour. This form of teaching is in line with the didactic principles according to which foreign language teaching should aim at developing communicating, humane, empathetic personalities that are able to co-operate and enrich their own experience as well as that of their partners.

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4. TEACHING AFRICAN CINEMA FOR MULTICULTURAL STUDENTS

Mari Maasilta

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this discussion is to evaluate a cinema course held in the International School of Social Sciences (ISSS) in the University of Tampere. The course called Cinema in Africa South of Sahara is a part of Cinema Studies aimed for foreign and Finnish students.

When proposing the course, my idea has been to try to widen the Eurocentric perspective in the curriculum of Cinema Studies and offer an alternative for mainstream Hollywood cinema and Western film theories. In order to develop the course in the future, it is necessary to evaluate profoundly the learning experiences of international student group. I am interested in the questions like: How do nationality/gender/main subject/age effect on students' experiences? How do they react to a non-Western film culture and what are the main obstacles for understanding the films?

In my discussion I use my own experiences as a teacher, 11 analyses written by 7 Finnish, 2 American, 1 Estonian, 1 Japanese students about the film La vie est belle (1987) and 15 course evaluations written by the group.

4.2 International School of Social Sciences (ISSS) and Cinema Studies

I have been involved in the International School of Social Sciences (ISSS) of the University of Tampere since 1995 when I participated in the teaching of B.A. Program for Sambian Journalism teachers. This was also my first experience of teaching foreign students. The same year I joined the group whose aim was to improve and reorganize the curriculum of Cinema Studies in ISSS. Cinema Studies is proposed as a minor subject (15 credits) for the students with Environmental Policy, International Relations or Sociology as their major subjects. Besides the students of ISSS, also the students of the whole university and Open University of Tampere can attend Cinema Studies.

Cinema Studies had existed in the curriculum only for some years when the working group started to evaluate and reorganize the programme. The problem was not that the curriculum would have been bad, but there were many teachers who had left their courses and there was a need find new resources and new people.

My aim in joining the group was twofold: to get some practical experience of teaching my own research subject African cinema and try to widen Eurocentric perspective of the curriculum of Cinema Studies. When thinking of the students of ISSS it seemed to me odd that any of major

cinema traditions from South were not mentioned in the curriculum.[1] (Of course, it is not odd when knowing the Eurocentrism of our academic curriculums in general!) Hollywood and other Western main stream theories and history of European, American and Russian cinema were, of course, taught, but there were no literature nor classes about Latin American cinema, Indian or Egyptian cinema, Japanese cinema, Hong Kong cinema, not to mention African cinema even it these cinemas represent a good part of the world cinema (see the programme content Appendix 1).

The beginning was not a problem. I was pushed to participate in the working group by my professor and supervisor who absolutely supported my idea. Besides, they needed a new person to take responsibility of Cinema in Different Cultural Areas study unit. I was free propose my own course called Cinema in Africa South of Sahara if only I accepted to be the examiner of the whole study unit, as well.

4.3 African Cinema South of Sahara Course

I had my first class in the spring 1996 with only 7 students. I am not going to discuss more about this first class, except that it was a nice experience to work with students from several countries and with several points of view. Besides, the small group size allowed a lot of exchange between the students and myself. After this first experience I was convinced that the course was necessary and was more confident when starting the next one last spring.

Last spring I proposed the lecture course of 24 hours and six film screenings (see the program Appendix 2). During the course the students had to write an essay about one film and to have an examination. In the following I will describe the content of my course and analyse the experiences of the students through their essays and course evaluations.

I have studies African cinema myself for several years as my doctoral thesis is supposed to be about globalization of African cinema, but, however, it was not an easy task to start to develop the subject as a course curriculum that has never before existed in any Finnish university. Another difficulty that I realized already in advance was the heterogeneity of the students of ISSS, University of Tampere and Open University. Not only they come from several nationalities, but they also have different majors and different experiences of academic studies.

I ended up to propose something quite classical. During the lectures I go through the development of African cinema from colonial times to present day and main tendencies of African cinema and discuss the differences in Western and African film aesthetics. All this is done with a help of film screenings which are an essential part of the course. Besides the screenings, excerpts of these and other films are widely used during the course. I have to take granted that most of the students have never seen African films before and they need a lot of references before getting the idea. In my lecturing I try to be as interactive as possible in order to check all the time that the students follow my reasoning and do not feel lost. Questions and discussions are at least as fruitful for me as for students since sometimes their questions reveal a totally new problematics that I have never thought.

Since African cinema is not a well-known subject in Finnish universities I have had a lot of difficulties in finding convenient readings and material for classes. In our university library there are only some books concerning the subject and only one copy of each. For this reason I am obliged to make my own reading material for students. I give a written presentation of each film and

director before the screening and distribute the copies of some theoretical articles and analysis during the lectures. I also propose a reading list for those who are more interested in the subject but these books are not necessary for attending the class.

Another, and more serious practical problem, is how to find films to be screened. The difficulties of distribution of African cinema are also seen in the availability of video versions. In Europe there are few video distributors and the titles available in English are very limited. On the contrary, in USA there are some good distributors but the prices are manifold compared to European ones. As far as I budget from the university, American distributors do not help the situation of my course. What follows is that I have to do compromises between my preferences and availability of films with English subtitles. Our use some old copies which urges criticism from the students (see course evaluations Appendix 3).

4.4 Students' Essays

I will now turn to the experiences of my students from last spring through the analyses they wrote about the film La vie est belle (Nganguru Mwezw and Benoit Lamy, Zaire, Belgium& France, 1987). Actually, I proposed the students to write an essay on one of the two films, La vie est belle or Camp of Thiaroye (Sembene Ousmane, Senegal, 1998), but here I analyze only papers written about the first one.

The purpose of writing the essay was to put them to think about the films more profoundly but I also wanted to find out which kind of things they paid attention to and which aspects of films they considered difficult or appealing in order to develop my teaching in the future. For this reason any theoretical approach was not asked, instead I encouraged them to write from their personal point of view. The homework was given in the middle of the class so that they could, however, get use of the lectures and discussions we had had earlier.

In the whole group there were more than 20 students, but only 17 wrote an essay, since there were several who only attended the class but did not take the examination nor did their homework. About one third of the students came from ISSS, one third from Open university and one third from the main university. The age of the students varied from about 20 to 50. There were 11 female and 6 male students.

Most of the students (11) chose to analyse La vie est belle, six of them wrote about Camp of Thiaroye and one who had misunderstood the task wrote about Mapantsula (Oliver Schmidt, South Africa, 1988). The papers analysed were written by 7 Finnish, 2 American, 1 Estonian and 1 Japanese students The preference to La vie est belle is explained by the fact that the style of the film is more familiar to Western students than any other film screened in the class. It is a co-operation film made by a Zairian and Belgian directors together. The plot is a common "rags to riches" story known from old Hollywood stories. Besides it is a music comedy with the music of papa Wemba. Papa Wemba was also cast as the main male character of the film, Kourou. Several students mentioned these familiar elements and how they were surprised to find the similarities between African and Western culture and lifestyle and African and Western films. Besides the Hollywood films and soap operas, one Finnish student mentioned similarities between old Finnish films.

> Somehow she reminded me of a similar character in old Finnish comedies, namely Pekka Puupaa's wife Justiina. It was a bit of surprise to me that the same kind of character exists in African films as well, because I have thought that women's role in African society is more submissive." (Finnish female student)

This and many other comments reveal how students compared their earlier images about/of Africa to those presented in the film. They noticed how their earlier 'stereotypic' or 'prejudiced' images (concerning for example the role of woman or polygamy) were challenged and how the film put them to wonder what is the reality. Several students found it possible to identify with the characters of poor Africans even if it through other media images is quit impossible.

The students' knowledge about Africa was understandably scarce. That made them difficult to make a difference between reality and constructed reality by the film. They tended to take the film as a documentary or at least to tell about Zairian life as it is.

> "I wonder if women's life in Zaire is like this in reality? Maybe the film makers were only emphasising the way some liberated, Westernized women are. This is an interesting subject and it made me wonder to know more about life in Africa." (Finnish female)

Not knowing African cultures made it sometimes difficult to analyse the film. The students expressed this difficulty for example in the connection with the characters like witchdoctor and midget who were both important persons in the film.

The students found differences between Western and African cultures that astonished them. Two students were confused by the fact that the hero of the film did not fulfill their expectations that you can gain success only by working hard.

> "I've thought it is impossible at least in the real life in Japan to live like flowing on the stream that people regard as destiny, is s/he wants to success except for some exceptions. Considering many other options and planning in detail follow graving the luck and achieving the goal. Harder work means higher success, therefore, people are willing to work as much as they can." (Japanese female)

> "Finally, the means of this rise in social class does not fulfill the Western fairy tale expectations that one works hard or honestly to realize a dream and finally it is fulfilled, but rather that occurs primarily as the result of chance circumstances and manipulation." (American female)

There were, however, differences in the interpretations concerning the reason for the success of the main character, Kourou. A Finnish student considered that he realized his idea through both 'cleverness and coincidences'.

One difference compared to Western films was that sexuality was not shown in an overt way, but this did not change the fact that it was an *'unusually sexual film, and maybe its' indirectness was one/the reason for it'*. At the same time the film spoke openly about a man's impotence.

> "I am sure that in the Western countries men suffer from impotence as much as in Africa, but it is never spoken aloud in the films. I guess it's a sort of tabu for Westerners, but not for the Africans, which was interesting to realize." (Finnish female)

The films seemed to put students to think their Western life style in a nostalgic way. They appreciated community life presented in the film, the way how people took care of each others and how money and work did not seem to pay so important role as in Western countries. Even before mentioned Japanese student ended to mourn after good, old days.

"However, when we think about our past decades,. lives of African people is very close to the ones to our past. At that time, our ancestors did not care about the international things and lived happily as the people in the movie do. As the same as the trend to rethink the meaning of development or even happiness, I also came to think whether or not our lives are progressing to the right way if we just deal with the economic growth and not focus on the happiness of people". (Japanese female)

4.5 Course Evaluations

I use to demand as evaluation from every student in the end of the course. Normally, I ask open question because I find that numbers or grades tell only if I have succeeded or not but they do not tell what was succeeded and what was not. This time I asked the following questions: What did you think about lecture content? What was positive in the course? What was negative in the course? What do you think about presentation of the lecture? Was the level of difficulty/amount of work/amount of reading proper to 1 study credit? What changes would you like to make for the course? 15 students returned the questionnaire.

The students found the content of the course very interesting. They stressed in their replies that African cinema was something new they had never before seen or even thought about. One student expressed it by saying that positive in the course, was *"to meet a new world"*. They also liked that a lot of films and excerpts of films were shown during the course. Several students mentioned that it was important that a lecturer herself was interested in the subject.

The students found the course quit tough because of lectures, screenings, essay and examination. They agreed generally that a course should have given two credits instead of one. (After consulting other teachers, I have to admit they were right.) In spite of this criticism there were still students who would have liked to get more films, more classes and more readings. The students complained also the quality of video, too long lectures (three hours) and too many names and details during the lectures.

For me as a teacher the feedback was very positive. The students seemed to appreciate my idea to propose something different from Western curriculum and also my own enthusiasm to the subject. I read even the criticism concerning technical problems in a positive way: if they wanted the class to be shorter or in the day time or better video copies, it was because they wanted to get more profit out of it.

The problem with student evaluations is that you never get to know why certain students give up the course or why they do not come at all. In my class there were in the beginning more Asian students (3-4) but they did not attend the course until the end. One Asian male student was quit active in the beginning and made many questions which expressed different point of views from my own ones and from other students. In the end of the course he did not come any more. With some Asian female students I also found problems in their understanding of my English. According to the returned evaluations the rest of the group did not have problems with this matter. (Even if One student was quit irritated by one continuous grammatical fault I made.)

I also expected in advance that the course would appeal specially African students but during two years I have had only one Algerian student. His presence during the first class was very motivating - even if it made it also more difficult for me - because he could always express his inside point of view for a discussion.

4.6 What did I Learn from this Teaching Experience?

Teaching of students from different countries and different backgrounds is a challenging task, and still more when you are teaching a subject which you yourself look as an outsider. I fell great responsibility on the image I give of the subject which is so little known in Western countries.

According to their essays many students tended to forget the difference between reality and constructed reality when seeing an African film. This difference is easier to hold in mind when seeing fiction films from one's own environment since everyone has everyday experience from this environment. Even thinking of other Western countries, the difference is easier to remember since we are used to see a lot and various (fiction and documentary) media messages from other Western countries. But when speaking about South and media images of South students have very little references to make any comparisons. There was one female students in the group who was older than the others and who had travelled in Eastern Africa and her comments differed clearly from the others.

Asian students seemed to understand the functions of African cinema easier than other students according to their own experiences about cinema. In Western tradition entertaining function of cinema is more important, whilst in Africa, film has been/is more often seen as a political and educational tool. These differences have an important impact on the aesthetics of cinema and this is surely one of the most important things to stress when teaching about African cinema. However, the students were quit right when considering realism of African cinema and its' equivalance to everyday life.

But at the same time there are a lot of similarities between Western and African cinema. Western research has often explained the similarities by referring to Western origin of cinema or cultural imperialism, but another possibility is to refer to global stories and myths that have existed already before Western fairy tale but found in every culture in a quit same way. Hollywood cinema has surely spread these stories more than any other cinema but this does not mean they would not exist in other cultures. I found it very important that several students found similarities and common themes in their own and Zairian culture even if the subject was not specially discussed during the course. In future, I would like to take this approach more seriously in my class.

African cinema class is surely not an anthropology class but it seems necessary to add the material articles concerning African countries their socio-economic situation or cultural traditions. For example La vie est belle could be analysed in the context of Zairian politics of 80s or Camp of Thiaroye in the context of the situation of Blacks in the Second World War, but the students cannot be expected to know these backgrounds without extra readings. The first lesson I learn when starting my African cinema classes in 1996 was that you never should enter the classroom without a map of Africa where you can point the geographical position of the area you are discussing about. This is surely not the fault of students but the Eurocentrism of our education systems.

References

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Manthia Diawara. 1992. African Cinema. Politics And Culture. Indiana University Press.

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[1] *There are 97 students in ISSS of which 31 come from Finland, 24 from other European countries, 16 from Asia, 14 from Africa, 8 from North America and 3 from Latin America (9.10.1997)*

Cinema in Africa South of Sahara **Appendix 1**

Lecture 24h, CIN4

Time: Wed 17-20 15.1.-19.3.1997
Place: B275, Attila
Teacher: Mari Maasilta

Program:

15.1. Concepts and definitions. Production of Third World cinema.

22.1. History of African Cinema

29.1. Social realist tendency

5.2. South African cinema

26.2. Image of woman in African cinema

5.3. Colonial confrontation tendency

12.3. Oral tradition and the aesthetics of African cinema

19.3. Examination

Screenings:

1. Ousmane sembene: Xala (Senegal, 1974)
2. Oliver Schmitz: Mapantsula (South Africa, 1988)
3. Nganguru Mweze and Benoit Lamy: La vie est belle (Zaire, 1987)
4. Ousmane Semebene: Camp of Thiaroye (Senegal, 1988)
5. Djibril Diop Mambety: Hyenes (Senegal, 1992)
6. Gaston Kabore: Wend kuuni (Burkina Faso, 1982)

In order to get 1 credit, the students have to
- write one essay either on La vie est belle or on Camp of Thiaraoye. The essay has to be returned 26.2. and
- participate in the examination 19.3.

International School of Social Sciences **Appendix 2**
Faculty of Social Sciences - University of Tampere
6.6.1997

COURSE EVALUATION
BACHELOR OF SOCIAL SCIENCES PROGRAMME
SPRING 1997

Numbers in front of the codes "A", "B"...refer to the number of students.

NAME OF THE COURSE: **CINEMA IN AFRICA SOUTH OF SAHARA**
CIN4 spring 1997
TEACHER **MARI MAASILTA**

(15 students returned the evaluation form)

In order to develop the course, I would like to have your comments. Please, answer the following questions.

What did you think about lecture content?

I think everything essential was there.

I feel that the lecture content was very good. Much information was always included with the use of examples and even clips from actual films.

Maybe more stressing on the theoretical side, if the content of the exam will be the same. Somehow the equivalence between the lectures and exam wasn't correct or maybe I understood this. The theoretical side was mosty presented in the readings.

Very interesting!

The balance between screenings and lecturer was good.

I think most of the lectures were very interesting. since I'm a sociologist "normaly"
I'm mostly interested in the analysing part.

Good, not too much facts. The stren. on difference between African & Western pern was most important.

A good introduction.

It was good and I feel like I've become much wiser when it comes to African cinema I learned a lot.

Good, in terms of the variety. Though were from different countries and majors it was still very interesting.

I thought the content was excellent. I learned exactly what I think education should teach someone - enough to understand a little about what
I don't know about a subject.

There was a lot to learn from these lectures. I was provided with many things about the films, however it would have been nice if the papers in Finnish could be translated to English.

-good

What was positive in the course?

The film screenings and discussion about the films; it was very interesting (all the copies of the films weren't great, though).

Saada tietoa afrikkalaisesta elokuvasta, koska muuten siihen on aika vähän mahdollisuuksia. Mielestäni filmivalinnat olivat hyviä.

Get very much African films.

The change to actually see African films which I have never before and never will have the opportunity to see again.

The possibility to watch those marvellous.. films.

You seem to like the subject, which makes it nice to listen. To know..., what the lectures were going to be about. Good lectures, good articles.

Interesting topics, good films.

Obviously enthusiastic teacher

To see pems and know the context

The topic - earlier I wouldn't have known that there is such a thing as African cinema

The film screenings gave a pretty good idea of what African cinema is like.

Visual methods

The course was handled in a very academic manner, much information was presented in clean and attention. I really appreciated this course because it was a unique opportunity to view discuss films and I think it is extraordinarily important!

Just...the opportunity to see African films for me. I had never seen one before so I enjoyed it.

To meet a new world

What was negative in the course?

Tyomaara 2 ov:a

Difficult names - great you didn't want them to be learned.

Sometimes there was too much information in the lectures which led to confusion.

Three hours is a little bit too long to keep one's mind concentrated on the subject, even with a break. Two hours would be better.

Too many transparents! It's very hard to try to write down what is on the transparent and at the same time listen to you. Also too many names, which don't tell me anything. Maybe you could give them as handcut instead? Or tell us it it's not important to write it down.

1 ov too little for the amount of work

2 ov would be fair.

Too much work for one credit.

Late lecture time.

The occasionally pretty poor video copies - but that's quit characteristic for all the cinema class. I didn't understand all the stuff discussed in the lectures.

It was better if we could see the films first and analyse it together afterwards all the time.

I would prefer that it would be possible to have the screenings the day before the lecture so that you have a film fresh in your mind to discuss it.

The course time was long, if there was a 15 minute break. Also I feel because of all the time put into this class it should have been 2 credits.

The quality of the cassettes

What do you think about presentation of the lectures?

It was ok.

The presentation of the lecture was mostly clear and understandable. The overheads helped...

Good. Maybe a bit closer connection between she...and lectures.

Languagevise well presented. The written facts about the films were nice.

I enjoyed it very much.

Sometimes it was difficult to sum the given information into notes, the point was somehow lost.

It was nice except I was highly annoyed by "discuss about" (when its discuss...) The presentation of the lecture was very though, giving students much food thought and opportunities to explore.

The teacher really know her stuff and she showed an interest in the topic. That makes a big difference to me. It is nice that she has actually traveled to Africa so it helped give me a clearer picture of what things are like there.

Was the level of difficulty/amount of work/amount of reading proper to 1 study credit?

I suppose so, I don't have too much experience..

Very proper

Yhteen opintoviikkoon riittäisi joko tentti tai essee koska luennot ja filmit vievät paljon aikaa.

I feel that perhaps due to the fact there was a ...exam are readings the course should be 2 credits.

In my opinion a little bit too much for one credit. If I think about the essay and all the films. The amount of readings was comfortable.

Compared to the Swedish system (which is said to be the same about credits) I think 1 credit is too little. 7 (or 6?) 3 hours lectures, 6 films, essay and...is too much for I credit in my opinion.

No. (not difficult but time-consuming: lectures, films, essay, readings, exam)

I think the essay would have been enough, because at least for me it took quit a lot of work.

It was definitely not. Too much for 1 credit: filmscreenings, essay,

Quite ok lectures, examination.

It was too much though it was not that difficult. It can't help it took much time much for both screening, lectures for one credit.

With my limited understanding of Finnish credit system I would suggest that the course be worth 2 credits in comparison with other courses I have taken

Personally, I think that the course should have been 2 credits because a lot time has put into seeing the films, attending class, reading and working on the paper. I have had more work in this class than other 2 credit I have taken, for me, this was a lot of work for one credit.
- 11/2 maybe

Which changes would you like to make for course?

How about replacing the exam by a course diary?

As you said, more analyzes of films (writing of films)

It should be made 2 credit as stated above.

If the time could be changed, it would be good. The late evening classes are so inconvenient. More cuts from other films. For example when it is told about a film; it would be good to show a part or just a scane of it - it becomes more alive and doesn't just stay as a one name. It becomes in this way more concrete.

Don't make the course smaller because of what I said. Instead I would like to also really one book. It's a good complement to the lectures. Not so many names of different associations during the history part!

The screening could be on regular days. Now they were on different weekdays and at least I had other lectures at the same time. (=difficult to the tapes afterwards...)

To add I credit for the course.

Somehow find newer copies of the films.

Nothing comes to my mind

The only change I would make is to extend the course, longer time, more classes, more films, maybe 2 credits and the above negative comment.

It would be nice if the films could be viewed during the class time rather than at scattered intervals throughout the week. At least the film viewing times + days should stay constant throughout the week.

All the handouts given in one time as a booklet.

5. TRUE COLOURS - A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR AND RESPONSES TO A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Christine Greenough

This paper is based on a qualitative research study carried out in the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK during 1993-1995 and personal experiences of working as a lecturer in Finland earlier this year.

First I will introduce you briefly to the current issues within the NHS following the Reforms of the early '90s, then I will discuss the research problem in the locality where I work and then the findings of the research.

The organisational behaviour and responses will be introduced showing the 'true colours' of the organisation and the degree of naïveté by community nurses about the health needs of a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural community. This will be followed by an explanation of how the organisation then responded to the research findings by sharpening and re-focusing their services.

It will show that it is possible through inter-cultural learning to create new 'bottom up' approaches to curriculum development by the establishment of inter-professional and multi-agency shared learning in multi-cultural studies.

5.1 Introduction

I work in an N.H.S. Trust to the east of Manchester in the UK which is a provider of health services. Since the NHS Reforms in the early 1990's there has been a growing emphasis placed on the organisation to develop more consumer and customer oriented services. The push for better community health care was boosted through the Government 's N.H.S. and Community Care Act [1990] which legislated that Local Authorities and Health Authorities were to promote efficiencies, quality and value for money.

My Trust is typical of others in the UK i.e. largely employing nurses who are predominantly white and of European origin. Therefore one could consider the norm as being the most dominant culture shaping services with little thought given to the needs of the minority ethnic groups in the community.

To pursue the issue of partnership between health organisations and their consumers was in stark contrast to the bureaucracy that had operated for many decades in the NHS. New agendas for the organisations included access, choice and service satisfaction.

Historically, active participation by users and carers where, health care was planned and delivered seemed a good idea but, in reality, only lip service was paid to this idea. To move away from this historical position and advance into a real partnership needed nurse practitioners to reflect on their knowledge and skills and then address the issue of providing culturally sensitive nursing care.

I began to wonder how much knowledge was acquired during nurse education on issues of multi-culturalism and the appreciation of how one's own set of values, beliefs, culture and religion could influence the delivery of health care. This raised the question of how much change had there been over the years in nurse education and did professional practice truly reflect the needs of today's multi-cultural Society? If ideas of health, illness and disease were socially determined with wide variation in each culture as well as between cultures, then how were community nurses delivering their services? Were they culturally sensitive to the patient's needs? Was nurse education moving with the times and providing a curriculum that met the needs of students and the consumer no matter what their race, gender, culture or sexual orientation?

Ethnic minority citizens in the locality where I work constitute 5% of the total population and are perceived to be an integral part of British society. This 5% consists mainly of Asian families who are unemployed and suffering inequalities in healthcare due to poor social and economic conditions. Generally, this Bangladeshi community have their origins in the rural, peasant community of NE. Bangladesh with their own distinctive background, language and cultural traditions. Their language is Sylheti that has no written tradition and many words when spoken do not translate into English. As schooling is not obligatory by law in Bangladesh, the locality has many families who are illiterate and adhere to the strict tenets of Islam. These citizens are first to fourth generation who originally came to this country from the subcontinent, many to enter arranged marriages with the objective of uniting families as one.

The Muslim family have a strong religious identity and do not appreciate interference from outside factors. Difficulties in services being accessed had arisen with Muslim women following rules of social behaviour laid down by their religion and the patriarchal extended family system. Lifestyles, culture, language and religion although quite different from the white population were known to have profound effects on their health especially coronary heart disease, tuberculosis and non-insulin dependent diabetes.

5.2 Lessons from Research

At this point it may be worth describing how findings from research in the UK were similar to the experiences in Finland. Teachers in the Department of Health Care Studies have reflected on the changing demography of their population whilst examining the rationale for changes in the curricula. From the UK research, new 'bottom up' initiatives by the Polytechnic's curricula planners are attempting to bridge the gap in knowledge whilst meeting the needs of the 'new' multi-cultural community in Finland.

5.3 Research Methods

As real life situations are generally complex and sometimes difficult to understand, a flexible approach was needed to answer the following research question:

> 'Are today's practitioners equipped and skilled to provide culturally sensitive care to a multi-cultural society?'

I began to realise that the approach was to pursue a qualitative design in a holistic setting following a model of triangulation. I suppose triangulation is currently being seen as 'the research trend of the 1990's. I was not seeking a method that was in vogue but one which would allow the researcher an opportunity to cast aside the straitjacket of either qualitative or quantitative methods and take up a more methodological eclectic approach. Therefore, by widening the frame of reference when considering the question, it would provide a wider understanding that was felt to lead to better solutions to the study.

First, a conscious decision was made to examine only the highly represented ethnic minority group in the locality, i.e. those women who currently accessed the services and who were women from the Indian subcontinent. Specific research techniques had to be quickly eliminated as the women were mainly unable to speak, read or write English and therefore unable to complete questionnaires or communicate like the white population. It is possible to doubt the validity of cross cultural focus groups but there was an awareness that whilst not ideal, misinterpretations could arise during the data collection. To obviate this, a second interpreter checked the transcripts to ensure data validity. The selected group of women, all of similar ages, cultural backgrounds and family circumstances were invited as a cross section of service users to a specific venue.

In an attempt to discover practitioner's knowledge and skills on multi-cultural issues, semi structured interviews which examined for example, issues of culture, religion and lifestyle were carried out. Practitioners were also asked to explain how the issue of multi-culturalism had been covered during their years as undergraduates. They were also asked if these studies would satisfy their needs as practitioners working in a multi-cultural community.

I was fortunate to become a guest speaker on how to assess the needs of minority groups with communities at a Conference in the North of England. This provided a unique opportunity to examine the wider issues of the relationship between professional knowledge and the needs of minority ethnic community groups.

5.4 The Analysis and Reporting of the Findings

Following collection of data from all three methods, analysis and a review of the general patterns or themes followed. It was also possible to analyse the content by noting the specific use of words or response patterns. Themes emerging were professional practice, race and culture, empowerment and partnership.

A wealth of data and an insight into the problems of inequality identified the less fortunate people of the community. The issue of professionals not really understanding or recognising their own culture or identity was evident. Some of the comments begged the question whether it reflected a degree of racism experienced by the community when they met with practitioners or was it sheer ignorance and lack of knowledge on the issues related to a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural community. In some cases, health care did not appear to be planned or delivered in a culturally sensitive manner.

It makes one question that if a practitioner and a patient hold differing views on health, would they not react differently to the health care services? Does religion shape ones values and beliefs in the health system? Did the practitioner from a different culture wish to bring to the organisation their own views and experiences of the people in a multi-cultural society? Did the organisation with its own culture wish to seek the views of users or was this again, a token gesture?

Written information was produced but not used by the Asian community as many could not read either their own language or English. The women had no idea how to complain about service provision but there was evidence to suggest that they were afraid of complaining and the possibility of fear of repercussions. Their body language and lack of facial expression suggested that they were grateful for whatever provisions were made by members of the primary healthcare team.

From previous discussions, the white community welcomed the opportunity for partnership and empowerment but the black women due to their culture and their position within the family did not.

Although not visible, the level of dissatisfaction by the client on the quality of care was evident. They felt disempowered and unable to actively participate in the planning of care because professionals were seen to be continuing their dominant mono-cultural working practices. It was clearly shown that the Bangladeshi women would welcome a partnership with the practitioners but did not consider themselves to be equals. Further probing showed that these women were humble and felt they were subservient to the members of the nursing and medical profession.

Feel that it was appropriate to express their views and experiences about service provision. The findings from the interviews showed that the practitioners were oblivious to this issue and the words, 'they just don't tell us' was quoted many times. Of course, they would not tell the practitioners their views on health or disease as they were unable to communicate with the practitioner.

The key issues of continuing professional education had to be addressed. The analysis of the data showed the norm for community nurses seemed to be that some practitioners had a 'laissez-faire attitude and ignorance of how to involve consumers in the assessment and planning of individual healthcare. It suggested that traditional working styles and professional behaviour and practice had to be challenged and a better understanding of cultural issues and the effects on health status had to be developed.

Further probing upon their responses showed that several professional groups (e.g. community nurses and midwives) were somewhat ignorant of cultural beliefs etc. This therefore showed that deliberate prejudice may not have been present in all groups of practitioners but only isolated individuals. Through the appropriate training and awareness raising by using the expertise of some practitioners, the unintentional racism could possibly be eliminated. Many practitioners felt bitterly

disappointed with today's nurse education as it was seen as not really preparing or equipping them with the necessary knowledge and skills to cross culturally communicate and plan health care to a diverse population. It was also clear there was a degree of parochialism, individualism, ethnocentrism, cultural distance and cultural shock.

There was evidence of cultural distance that subjectively identified the chasm between the two social systems - that of the practitioner and the social and family system of the patient. The distance could even be increased when the practitioners behaved with ethnocentrism and judged the ethnic community by the standards, values and beliefs of their own social system.

Observations and comments suggested that some practitioners showed their 'true colours' by being verbally abusive about the idea that they needed to tailor their services more appropriately. Others had come to terms with the feeling that the world was made up of all types of people who did not share the same wish for the patient to be autonomous. It was the latter group of practitioners who acknowledged they had a training need to address the shortfall in their nurse education and to improve their knowledge on the issues of multi-culturalism.

It was obvious the professional practice for many years had not changed. The in-depth knowledge and skills to cope and improve the health of the Asian community would not develop until curriculum planners looked at developing courses that examined how they were to address the issue of working towards a plural and tolerant learning environment. Nurses of the future need to be equipped with the right level of education on multi-cultural studies and be able to provide culturally comprehensive nursing care. It begs the question, is curriculum development on multi-culturalism affected by the cultures, values and beliefs of the nurse educators?

I must stress, when it comes to service provision to minority ethnic groups, the findings of this research does not mean that my organisation is any different to others in the N.H.S.
The outcome of this research was viewed very positively and seen as a rich source of information for the senior managers within the organisation. With the commitment of the Executive Board of the Trust, a strategy for the whole Trust has been developed to ensure a pro-active approach was taken to address the issues.

I will summarise some of the themes which were addressed:

1. A programme of continuing education for professionals in both hospital and community settings to address attitudes and indirect racism based on the stereo-typing of particular ethnic 'cultures'. At the same time emphasis being placed on a cultural framework that addresses the power base between the professional and the service user. This programme is now seen as a pre-requisite for all new employees whose competencies are checked to see if they have the necessary broad understanding of the health and social issues of ethnic minority populations in contemporary Britain;

2. A communication strategy to address the barriers created by language and literacy;

3. The appointment of an Asian team leader for the interpreters within the organisation and the pursuit of advocacy for minority groups to have a voice in health care provision was essential;

4. Information that was both audio-visual and written in all languages of the community is readily available to ethnic groups.

Since this research, many changes have been made including a programme of continuing education for professionals in both hospital and community settings to address attitudes and indirect racism based on the stereo-typing of particular ethnic 'cultures'. At the same time emphasis was placed on a cultural framework that addressed the power base between the professional and the service user.

Considering the UK has been a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country for many years, this fact is not reflected in the content of nurse education curricula. Many universities still allocate a minimum amount of time to address issues of assessment and planning of culturally sensitive nursing care.

5.5 Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic

Espoo-Vantaa Polytechnic was created in 1992. More recently it has developed its own Mission Statement that expresses its values, beliefs and the direction of this public service organisation. According to the statement, the Polytechnic is an educational institution with multi-cultural values. Is this true? What were the grounds for including such claims in the Polytechnic's Mission Statement? Perhaps the following points will provide information about the strategic thinking and the views of the planners of the Polytechnic.

In January this year I was seconded by my employers in the UK to take up a six month contract working as a lecturer. I was the first international lecturer in the Department of Health Care Studies. I learnt that since the Polytechnic's creation, common elective studies have comprised of multi-disciplinary study units which are of specific credit weeks and focus on internationalisation and cultural awareness.

Acutely aware for the need to learn from research, the Polytechnic's curriculum planners knew that mere technical skills and the command of a great deal of facts about foreign culture do not make one fully competent in coping in multi-cultural situations. They wanted to bridge the gap in knowledge and equip the nurses of the future with new competencies to address the needs of their 'new' multi-cultural and multi-ethnic Finnish community. That is, an ability to live and learn in a plural Finland. Therefore, the curriculum planners had a new challenge; how to synthesise these issues with the existing degree courses.

I soon realised, like many departments in the Polytechnic, that the Departments of Health and Social Studies had a strong belief there was a need for the structure and content in nurse and social work education to undergo continual changes through curriculum development. The viewpoint of majority had to be examined carefully and sensitively. As Finns who saw themselves as 'ordinary' citizens, it was important they also understood and accepted they were living in a multi-cultural society.

How could they, the educators, ensure practitioners of the Polytechnic effectively communicated with minority groups where Finnish was not the first language? Inter-cultural communication is known to be complex and requires special knowledge and practical skills if communication is to be a two way process. Therefore, practitioners of the future needed to be equipped and knowledgeable about how to communicate with all groups of people in the Finnish Society.

In January 1997, I was given a broad remit to plan and deliver a course of lectures on multi-culturalism to nurse undergraduates within the Department of Health Care Studies. With lessons delivered in English and in talking to the students, it became evident that many students had, for the first time in their life, begun to have contact with people who were not of the majority Finnish population. They reflected on their experiences in both hospital and community settings and described how there was a growing number of immigrants, each with their own unique cultures, languages and identities. The groups included Russian, Ingermanlanders who are considered to be Finns, Somalians, Kurds, Vietnamese and Estonians. Therefore, this created new challenges for the Polytechnic because people in the workplace needed the skills, qualifications and competencies to meet the needs of the consumers who may be part of a multi-cultural community.

The educators saw the acquisition of knowledge and skills in nursing to be gained in both the clinical areas and in the classroom. The course of study was to provide a unique opportunity for student nurses to merge their studies on nursing science with information on multi-culturalism and thus, enhance the quality of patient care from a new dimension.

My task included showing students how their approaches to nursing care had to ensure they worked in partnership with their clients and patients to eliminate some of the feelings of inferiority and low self esteem experienced by minority groups. Differences in lifestyles, diet, custom, health, illness and religious beliefs were covered and role play provided students with the opportunity to be creative whilst experiencing communication difficulties with patients whose first language was not Finnish.

The study enabled students to reflect on the type of practitioner that would be needed in the future. One that not only responded to political, economical or demographic changes but also equipped them to respond efficiently and effectively to the diverse effects these issues have on people's health whether they are of the majority or minority groups.

Following successful completion of the first course, practitioners from the local general hospital received 'professional education' to enable them to reflect on their clinical practice and examine the issues of multi-cultural nursing. The examination of cultural differences from their own Finnish culture and identification of the need for culturally sensitive health care to be delivered to their patients became evident.

Since 1996, a two credit study unit, which is still in its infancy, has been introduced into the common elective studies and it is called 'working in multi-cultural settings.' These studies are being carefully monitored and evaluated. Many courses, like the business and administration courses, are linked to internationalisation with the inclusion of negotiation skills, language skills and cultural elements. I have discovered that whilst in the UK there are still gaps in the knowledge and skills of some new graduates on issues of multi-culturalism, the thrust of this Polytechnic is to educate and equip graduates of the future to take into consideration international and multi-cultural aspects in their future work.

5.6 Critical Questions for the Future

If many elementary and secondary schools in Finland have pupils with immigrant, refugee or other different cultural backgrounds, how could the Polytechnic improve the access to higher education

for these people? The Department like others in the Polytechnic are currently examining their approaches to this problem by critically analysing the content of their entrance examinations.

As many departments in the Polytechnic, the Health and Social Care Studies' Departments collaborate in such a manner that there is a consensus to provide a core curriculum that enables them to respond to the health and social needs of the multi-cultural society by providing holistic, culturally sensitive care. This kind of care takes into account issues related to the diversity, marginalisation and vulnerability that people experienced due to culture, race, gender or sexual orientation.

Whether working in hospital or community settings both health and social care professionals have a common interest i.e. the assessment, planning and delivery of packages of care to a multi-cultural society. Was it possible to add a new innovative dimension by providing inter-professional education and enhancing their collaboration by creating a new learning environment? This proactive approach was seen as addressing the issue of multi-culturalism whilst removing the segregation of professional education that imparts stereo-typed images and expectations of other professionals. Was it possible to develop a core curriculum where health and social care students received core training on multi-culturalism? How should Departments of Health and Social Care train those professionals to handle complex health and social issues whilst co-operating with each other and recognising the issues of culture? How do teachers throughout the Polytechnic act as the educator and cope with their own attitudes and ways of thinking?

Following a Polytechnic proposal to re-focus post registration diploma courses to degree level, the Polytechnic was successful in its application for funding from the Ministry of Education. From January 1998 they will offer 'top up' courses to provide the necessary accreditation for a first degree in multi-cultural nursing studies. This is seen as a major challenge as teachers plan and implement a course which will be designed to equip practitioners of the future to respond to the needs of a multi-cultural society by delivering culturally sensitive care. Within this course there will be opportunities for post registered students to learn how to be successful nurse managers and leaders of their profession whilst working towards achieving pluralism in the workplace.

It is known that personal and institutional racism and discrimination prevents minority groups from fulfilling their aspirations to enter the workplace on the grounds as an equal. Therefore, another crucial and important question is, how do we, in higher education, identify solutions and create opportunities that are based on equity for the whole community? If you are a member of the minorities of Finland, how do both employers and education institutions address their recruitment policies to reflect the needs of these groups of people?

5.7 Conclusions

We live in a multi-cultural society and we have to come to terms with living in one culture and sometimes working in another type of culture. An organisational culture where power, inequality, relationships between individuals and groups may differ considerably. Graduates of the future, no matter what course they have undertaken should be able to demonstrate their awareness of multi-cultural diversity and its benefits.

If public services are to be pro-active and respond to the needs of a multi-cultural society, they need to continually re-examine their behaviour and service provision. Whether they are educational

establishments or employers of health and social professionals, it is unrealistic to expect services to provide equality as people are not born with equal health or social status. Therefore, with a commitment from senior managers, services should be working in partnership with their consumers to seek fairness through gradual continual improvement in education and training provisions.

After five years since the inception of this Polytechnic, it is clear that they have made a high priority of multi-cultural studies being made available to all students no matter which degree course they are following. It must also be stressed the Polytechnic Departments are working hard to reduce or eliminate the issues of poor professional roles, poor communication, conflict in power relationships or ideological differences by developing inter-professional working through core curriculum development. This is seen as quite innovative as it improves future professional teamwork and collaboration in service planning whilst improving flexibility. For the first time, optional extra studies on multi-culturalism are now being considered for integration into core curricula.

The World Health Organisation in the '80's stressed that its target was 'Health for all by the year 2000'. No matter in which country graduates practise, the emphasis for today and tomorrow's labour force is on the 'whole person' through what is commonly known as an holistic approach. Professionals like nurses and social workers not only need to look at the physical, social and emotional well being of the patient/client but also to ensure that the context is appropriate to the individual, the family or a specific community. Therefore, if care is to be holistic, all practitioners need to work together and understand each other's role. If patients and clients do not really understand the nursing and social care that is being delivered by the professionals than how on earth can that care be delivered in the most effective manner possible.

As their International lecturer, I see the Polytechnic looking to the future and seeing graduates requiring a broad-based knowledge that includes multi-cultural studies whilst spanning many other subject areas. It is through the creation of a strategy they will work as a team, in partnership with their students, to overcome some of the prejudice and intolerance in today's society.

6. EXPERIENCES OF THE CHALLENGE TO GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP IN LIFELONG EDUCATION

Helena Allahwerdi

For a good number of years, the Finnish UN Association has actively carried out and promoted the aims of international education. Also, it is the association's duty to activize public discussion on both internationalism and education. To achieve this the association follows closely the latest development in international education, participates in curriculum development, takes public stand in and informs about educational matters, arranges seminars, produces teaching materials and promotes experiments in the field of international education. Until now there have been practically no means to evaluate how international education is integrated in Finnish teaching.

The global changes and developments are faster than the school's ability to change .Existing school culture with its curriculas, basic and further teacher training and everyday educational traditions in individual schools form actually limits to learning.

It was for the above purpose that the Finnish UN Association developed the challenge to global citizenship - the maturity test for world citizens. It was launched in 1995 and by now approximately 600 students, young and old have successfully passed the test. Information about it is annually distributed to Finnish schools, organizations and also to selected country commissions for Unesco. There is a network of teacher tutors administered by the Finnish UN Ass. About 70-80 educational institutes offer The Challenge to Global Citizenship as part of their formal teaching menu. Participants include students from comprehensive schoolsproper, secondary schools, vocational schools, adult education centres, organization members and individuals outside formal education. The age range has been between 12-80 years. However the majority of the participants are 16 -35 years old.

The maturity test for global citizenship is a challenge in more than one way. As a learning method it should:

- support self-directed learning;
- encourage a positive outlook on life;
- emphasize active participation;
- expose the idea that realities and truths are many;
- encourage communication and interaction with civil society and the world;
- set no limits either to learning or making good use of one's knowledge;
- clarify that school is not the only learning forum, but learning takes place everywhere and anywhere anytime;
- reveal where the learner's talents are;
- maximize freedom and openness;
- emphasize critical thinking and the relativity of all knowledge;
- develop one's entrepreneurial and participatory skills;

- gives an open chance to face the challenges of today;
- be complementary to the aims of different curricula.

The test immediately involves the learner in an interesting and multi-layer learning process with no limits to learning and knowing. By keeping a diary the learner has an on-going personal relationship with and commitment to the chosen theme. This theme can be studied from several view-points which again help finding out about one's ability and skills to move inpersonal, local, national or international knowledge environments. By self-evaluation the learner finds new personal skills which can be harnessed into active participation. Belief in one's skills and abilities becomes stronger. Active, independent and creative use and sharing of the acquired knowledge support the many-sided development of the global citizen.

In the long run it is the aim of the maturity test for global citizenship to implement the educational goals of both the United Nations and the Finnish UN Association. In practice this means increasing critical debate about the issues such as development, human rights, culture and development, environment, refugees and multiculturalism. Simultaneously the test increases the ability to make use of international, national and local data systems. It is the aim of the maturity test for global citizenship to make the participants able to actively acquire, utilize and share new knowledge, strengthen their interactive abilities and develop their personalities.

6.1 International Documents as Background

United Nations, its specialized agencies like UNESCO and various organisations of the European Union often arrange major international, intergovernmental conferences, which recommend international education as a method to educate global citizens able to cure the world of its illnesses.

The basic document of international education is the "Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation and Peace and Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" adopted by UNESCO in 1974. An amendment to this document is the "Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy" adopted by the UNESCO General Assembly in 1995.

In UNESCO's vocabulary all the above mentioned educational fields are included in the concept of international education. On the other hand, within UN, all these concepts also have their special political connotations. Nationally different citizen groups have their own value-based interpretations of these concepts. According to the two recommendations above international education should be integrated in all education, in all its forms. Schooling and education should live on the pulse of times and react to existing circumstances. Teaching must guide learners to take charge of their own lives both now and in the future.

All through vocational specialization students should be taught to see themselves as active developers of society. The earlier this process begins the better.

The big UN conferences have suggested that in all parts of the world teaching should deal with human rights, economic, environmental and development issues as well as the position of marginalized citizen groups such as women, children and refugees. The media and electronic networks serve as sources for information.

All the many documents, declarations and plans of action adopted by international conferences remain all too easily special expertise jargon if their real contents are not integrated in all general and vocational education and in all teacher education.

The world of the 1990's is very different from that of the 1970's. The cold war is over. Open conflicts between states are fewer, but those within nations are greater in number than before. Competition is hard on the global market. More than anything else, becoming international means professionalism.

The many sets of aims for personality development according to UNESCO are a huge challenge to schools and educators. The realities of today are find their way to schools via mass media and a variety of continuing education possibilities.

A growing number of people can make use of various exchange programmes within the European Union. These programmes allow them to either study or work in the EU member states. The European Trade Agreement opened the European labour market. Today work force is mobile. Many workplaces and other communities are multicultural already today. In today's world everybody is already a global citizen.

The maturity tests for global citizenship show annually how the participants reflect their time, culture and society. The global citizen has certain abilities, skills and knowledge. But also rights. Along with rights the global citizen also has duties, which he/she is able to fulfil if education fulfils its special task.

Tolerance in today's world is vitally important. Tolerance presupposes impartial state legislation, supervision and legal and administrative procedures. A citizen must also have the right to protest against court decisions. The state structure should have mechanisms to prevent severe marginalization. Every citizen group should have the right to be different. Multicultural life environments are a fact in all parts of the world.

Global markets, accelerating mobility, mass communication, integration and interdependence, extensive migration and displacement of people, urbanisation and changing society structures are some of the characteristic features of our present times.

UNESCO'S recommendations on International Education introduce many new educational areas during last 20 yers. The most important are:

- Peace education (culture of peace)
- Disarmament education
- Human rights education (including UN documents on the rights of women and children)
- Environmental education
- Multicultural education (cultural understanding)
- Development education (education about and for development)
- Media education (command of the global information society)
- Tolerance education
- Education for development (this term used e.g. by UNICEF)
- Value education.

The Aims for Global Citizenship Based on UNESCO's Recommendations on International Education

Social-Emotional Aims

- Adoption of human rights ethics
- Strengthening of positive self-image and sound self-confidence
- Responsibility for oneself and for others
- Ability to endure conflict and change
- Wish to promote justice and equality
- Solidarity to oppressed nations and groups
- Understanding of and respect for all peoples, their cultures, values and ways of life including ethnic groups in one's country
- Ability to see the social function and global connections of one's profession.

Cognitive Aims

- A holistic and realistic world view
- Critical approach to knowledge
- Understanding one's rights and duties and those of other people
- Acquaintance with local and global social problems and their solution possibilities
- Realize global interdependence
- Recognize what role one's country plays in international co-operation
- Understand the role cultures play in planning and implementing development.

Functional Aims

- Ability to act as a group member
- Ability to responsible behaviour
- Ability to show consideration for others
- Ability to communicate
- Ability to form, give grounds to and express one's opinion
- Ability and motivation to constantly acquire new knowledge linking it to what has been learnt earlier
- Ability to democratic participation.

The Duties of the Global Citizen

- Ability to act for the security and continuity of one's environment
- Ability to share wellbeing justly
- Motivation to promote equality and human rights
- Awareness of the possibilities for sustainable development and wish to guarantee such development
- Wish to protect the cultural and mental heritage of mankind
- Awareness of everyone's right to life, development and wellbeing
- Wish to participate in democratic decision-making to achieve good governance.

6.2 Supportive Pedagogical and Learning Theories

The maturity test for global citizenship is based on humanistic and cognitive learning traditions.

The humanistic learning tradition emphasizes human dignity. The roles human beings have as subjects or as objects are regarded equally valued in global citizenship. In the learning process taking action strengthens self-direction, creativity and self-confidence. The aim is that the learner has a holistic approach to his/her studies, and this allows him/her to understand how conflicting and limited different knowledge environments are when trying to solve the problems the study creates. Knowledge changes and specializes from one knowledge environment to the other. The knowledge people use makes the meaning of knowledge more important. In the maturity test for global citizenship one is constantly open to new experience and finds root in no fixed truths or meanings. One's personal experience and independent choices lead into internalized knowledge. And this knowledge is under constant change in everyday interaction.

The maturity test for global citizenship carries out Paulo Freire's pedagogy of liberation (Freire, 1974). This takes place in the self-managed process which keeps creating new open questions and leads into a holistic and many-sided mastering of the theme in question.

The cognitive learning theory and the theory of psychological activity regard the human being as a self-directing learner who collects knowledge and experience in order to lead a responsible and meaningful life. In the learning process the learner meets a number of people as his/her teachers and quides. These new contacts create an active and multi-layer interaction.

The self-directed learning theory and growing into adulthood by M. Knowles (1974,1980,1984,1989,1990) give theoretical base to the maturity test for global citizenship, too. A central characteristic of adulthood is self-directed learning. Knowles says that becoming an adult is an automatic process. Becoming an adult means wanting and being able to be responsible for one's actions. By their very nature human beings are enterprising and active. Successful learning strengthens self-direction.

Knowles' learning theory is based on these four developing characteristics of the learner:

1) A person's self-image abandons dependence and moves over to being self-directed;
2) A person's experiences increase and this becomes the real source of learning;
3) A person's ability to learn is directed more than before to developing social roles;
4) Time perspective changes from delayed application to instant application (Knowles, 1990, 57-63).

The above assumptions of the developing characteristics of human beings stress the individual's self-direction and wish to control and direct one's actions. Nobody can be forced to learn against one's will. Knowles assumes that adults are naturally interested in the surrounding world and willing to investigate and solve current problems. An adult and an adolescent both have a need to be self-directed in learning. The structure of the maturity test for global citizenship can strengthen and develop this need. The test is nothing but a self-directed working method leading to a continuing and creative learning process.

The principles of the self-directed learning process regard the human being as a resource who has the need to become self-directed and use education to fulfil this need. Self-directed learning is a process where an individual defines and chooses his/her learning needs. It is he/she who is responsible for what is learnt and how, and is himself/herself the lord and master of the learning process. Part of the process is self-assessment. It is the individual who finds the problem and the theme, maps it out, seeks new solutions during the process and chooses the best alternatives among them.

The teacher's/tutor's/educator's main duty is to offer choices and alternatives which help the learner to proceed. This means that the learner has a menu of several choices which again strengthen the learner's independence. Self-directed learning is a basically adjustive process leading into self-managed life in existing circumstances.

Knowles bases his theories on humanistic perception of man: human beings have a need and aspiration for mental growth and self-managed life. Self-directed learning helps the individual's characteristics, talents and resources to grow. As a human being an individual is free and independent.

In his thinking Knowles strongly emphasizes individualism instead of collectivism. Living and learning is clearly an individual story. Self-directed learning is linked up with individualism - so strong in western cultural heritage - as well as with a person's abilities, wishes, responsibility and possibilities to manage and make decisions on his/her learning and actions.

Also Stephen D. Brookfield (1982, 1984, 1985 a,b,c) has developed theories of self-directed learning. He emphasizes critical learning and finds Knowles' theories too simplistic. Brookfield wants to question if all people are capable of self-directed learning which is suppose to give joy and satisfaction. Instead of self-direction Brookfield emphasizes supporting a person's growth into adulthood. According to Brookfield everyone is imprisoned by his/her culture and times, which should be clearly understood. And this, according to Brookfield, automatically leads to self-managed life. Simultaneously grows the person's awareness of chances for change. Various life settings make the person see different alternatives and views.

The learner needs a rich variety of alternative ways of thinking.

The ground for self-directed learning is thus a conscious wish to change the world, map out change and take a stand in change. Now we do not speak about adjusting but actively finding channels for change.

This can mean that self-directed learning becomes both painful and oppressive. Nothing is really safe. It becomes the task of the individual to see conflict and problems as prerequisites of change and regard himself/herself as a feeling and responsible being. Cultural limitations such as religious, political, economic and social authorities must be faced and conquered. After this there is a chance to face otherness and create something new. One learns only after constant unlearning process.

A factor which constantly changes life is critical thinking, according to Brookfield. Being critical creates abilities to face change for common good. Still, an individual is not only self-directed. Being critically open can be called the sound emancipation of an adult.

According to J.Mezirow self-directed learning means reaching new and many-sided meaning perspectives. (Mezirow 1989; 1990, 354: 1991 c, 196-226) Communication and critical dialogue form the real forum for learning.

Mezirow calls this theory transformative learning (Mezirow 1991) which according to him includes self-direction and self-directed learning. Mezirow is interested in meanings. Only phenomena, experience and issues which are meaningful to a human being can draw his attention and lead to learning. These meaning perspectives direct our feelings, experiences, understanding and interpretations in different circumstances. Meaning perspectives are learnt as a part of the socialization process. Mature adulthood means moving towards new and changing meaning perspectives, which the person controls independently with his/her critical dialogue with the surrounding society.

According to Mezirow self-directed learning means constant change of knowledge. The duty of the educator is to increase human capacity to act as a self-directed learner.

Based on the theories developed by Knowles, Brookfield and Mezirow, the maturity test for global citizenship strengthens a person's possibilities for self-directed learning, growing into critical adulthood and understanding meaning perspectives. A maturity test well passed implements both the humanistic and cognitive learning theories.

6.3 The Structure of and Process of the Challenge to Global Citizenship Programme

Completion of the challenge to global citizenship varies from 3-4 months to several years. The work may be completed as part of the students' personal curriculum as:

- an independent project
- a regular course
- a study/practice or training in a foreign country
- a final term portfolio.

The structure is as follows:

1. Notifying Finland's United Nations Association

The decision to participate is made. The tutor(s) are chosen. The Finland's UN Association's personel does tutoring also by using Picture Tel Programme (distance independent learning) and telephone consultations and e-mail. The personel does consultation visits to the schools if needed.

2. Following the mass media

Every participant keeps a mass media journal and writes his/her reflections on news. If the theme/the topic for work is not known when the project starts, the topic will be found and chosen during the mass media follow up. Mass media follow up covers the newspapers, TV, radio and electronic databases.

3. Diary/ portfolio/ daily journal

The journal is kept during the entire project. It reflects the questions, feelings, frustrations, observations , thoughts of the participants and gives support to the self evaluation.

4. In depth studies of the topic

The topic is to be examined from as many sides as possible. It includes surveying the references in the libraries and data banks, making fieldtrips, interviews and study tours. Important books, articles, interview are reviewed, summarized and analysed. Key sources for obtaining relevant updated information are searched. Key questions are asked during the interviews. Reference lists are added. Computerized literature searches are performed.

5. Sharing and action

The distribution, sharing and utilization of the gathered information and knowledge takes place according to participant's abilities and plan. This may emphasize social interaction, creativity, teaching skills, informing, influencing the public opinion and research skills. One shares by teaching the younger or organizes an exhibition or a concert or a play. The other may write articles in local newspaper or express his/her thoughts in radio or video programme.

6. Self evaluation

The work is completed by a self evaluation. What benefits and hardships were resulted from the long process? What kind of obstacles had to be faced? What was the biggest suprises? What are the plans now? Openness to controversial point of views? Your commitment to values?

7. The portfolio is mailed to UN Ass.

The completed work of the challenge to global citizenship maturity test is examined by the 2 experts and *the personal certificate* is granted. This certificate serves as a recommendation when applying for a job or for an opportunity to study.

The challenge to global citizenship can be completed as individual work or as a group work. In order to evaluate the group work each participant must have individual diaries and self evaluations. Also from other parts of work must indicate who did it.

6.4 The Role of the Tutor

The maturity test for global citizenship requires a tutor. The tutor can be a student counsellor, a teacher of mother tongue or languages, a teacher of ethics or religion or someone who does not belong to the school staff. It can also be agreed upon that one tutor is in charge of participants from several local educational institutions. The recommended group size is less than 15 students. The tutor and the group can meet in any place which suits everyone. The tutor should reserve the time of at least two credits for each group. The tutor also reserves time for individual instruction and follows the group's progress on a weekly basis.

The tutor's role is that of a pedagogue." What is desired that the teacher cease being a lecturer, satisfied with transmitting ready made solutions; his role should be that of a mentor stimulating initiative and research," (Jean Piaget).

The tutor is the one who supports, educates, listens, asks questions, discusses, activates, understands and helps wisely to take next steps. Self -direction can also be analyzed from the focus of the control in learning/teaching situation. The learner's control of one's own learning is maximum, when the teacher's control is minimal, and the other way (Nyyssölä, 1997,11).

The role of the tutor is to remove the obstacles of self directive learning. Self-directive learning can be based on description about the characteristics of self-directive learner:

- Student learn to know and accept better herself as a learner and values herself positively (self acceptance);
- Ability to diagnose her own learning needs, setting personal goals and devise effective strategies to accomplishing the learning goals (planning ability);
- Student has an internal control, motivation and interest to learn (intrinsic motivation);
- Ability to self evaluation and to receive external feedback (internalized evaluation);
- Openess, curiosity and tolerance of ambiguity, preference for complexity and even playfulness (openness to experience);
- Flexability to change learning goals and methods and to use exploratory approaches to problems (flexability);
- Independence and courage to question for example the normative standards - still taking account social utility (autonomy);
- (Nyyssölä 1997,11, Skager 1984, 24-25).

The teacher's roles as a tutor vary according to the needs and abilities of the students. Not all the students are instantly self directed learners. Some of them have to unlearn learning skills in order to become self -directed. Dependent students require a tutor who acts more or less as an authority or a coach. Interested students need a motivator and a quide. Involved students manage their work with the support of a facilitator. Self-directed students are satisfied with a tutor consultant and a delegator (Grow, 1991).

The tutor is responsible for the practical things in the venture. He/she informs about the maturity test and tells the potential participants when and to whom the applications should be sent. By a given time the participants register for the test, and the tutor, having received the registrations, passes them to the Finnish UN Association. During the test period students meet several times as a group. They share with each other their individual processes and experience. The tutor is present at these meetings. It is the tutor's task to stimulate and encourage but also give individual instruction if needed.

Ms Kaisu Otsamo, a teacher of Finnish language at the Maikkula Comprehensive School, Upper Level received an acknowledgement of merit in 1995 by the Finnish UN Association for successful tutorship. She thinks that in a well passed maturity test, the tutor's role is very important. Ms Otsamo tutored seven students in 1995. They all passed the test with excellent marks. "More than anything else the maturity test is a many-sided learning method. Personally I have found this year interesting and educating. I have welcomed all challenges and feel that I am not quite the same person as when the test started", says she. What the above seven global citizens have performed show the development of several abilities, and as they now enter secondary education they are clearly more capable of dealing with large and demanding learning units than their fellow students. Ms Otsamo wants to add:"I find it important to tell about my part in the process. In addition to what the students have achieved, I also value my own work. I guess it is not wrong to say so."

6.5 Present Experiences

6.5.1 Comprehensive School

The maturity test for global citizenship trains the students' abilities to study independently and in a many-sided way, alone or in a group. In comprehensive schools the participants need teachers as tutors who can encourage the students to improved performance.

In the 1990's one must approach knowledge with an active and inquiring mind. The students must be encouraged to learn in a self-reliant and independent fashion. The final goal is for the student to learn an active methodology for lifelong learning based on a many-sided search for and use of information. Old ideas of learning can thus be questioned and new ones can be introduced leading students to responsible and self-directed learning processes.

As an example Tikkala school with 48 students aged 7-12 years old in Korpilahti participated into maturity test. They had reserved 2 hour's time every week year round for the project " games around the world". Two students together chose a culture and started to study it. They used mass media, post, telephone and fax in their survey and found many contacts. Every Friday was a visiting day. The students invited quests from the country they studied to visit the school. The quests spoke about their way of living: greetings, hospitality, how to be polite and they also introduced three games from their childhood. The project ended in a world festival of games where the students run their own workshops.

In practice this means that schools must undergo a fundamental inner change to be able to offer their students new learning methods. An example of such a new learning method is the maturity test for global citizenship.

The Green House Effect by Mr Antti Haaranen, the Maikkula Comprehensive School, Upper Level in Oulu, 1995

> "I must confess I have waited to reach this face. The maturity test has lasted long and been quite exhausting. But now I am approaching the end, and that gives quite a good feeling. But this is not yet the time to finish. Summer holidays are there for relaxation.
>
> I have assessed my working all through this maturity test. Alongside this diary I have kept another where I have written down my ideas of the project. Now I am supposed to tell what I think.
>
> My experience of the maturity test can be expressed with one word: instructive. Maybe that word expresses best the whole process. The test taught new things I had never come across before. If I took the maturity test again, e.g. on the theme of "Energy" I would be able to do much better.
>
> I would be able to seek information from various sources. I would know how to speak on the phone. I would be able to prepare myself for the meetings and behave in them. I find all the above things great to know. I would be much more stupid had I not taken this test.
>
> I have learnt new things. What else could I say?
>
> A challenge. I could not regard the test as a challenge in the beginning, because I knew practically nothing about it. It became a huge challenge only when I realized how difficult it was.
> Many people have asked me, if it is worthwhile to take the test. Do I recommend it to be taken on the 9th grade? I have answered promptly: no, I do not recommend that.

But now I would answer differently.

I have now noticed that the greater the challenge the more wonderful the feeling after facing it. Challenges are needed, they make life worth living. That is why I could now recommend the maturity test for global citizenship to all. It is really worth the great feeling of victory it gives."

6.5.2 Upper Secondary School

In upper secondary schools the maturity test for global citizenship can be taken as an elective course, as an independent project or as an end-of-course paper. The maturity test also serves well as an integrated project for various school subjects. If tutors are few, the students may have to be in charge of the project themselves or it may become a common project for several local educational institutions.

The interdisciplinary nature of the test allows the upper secondary students to communicate with the surrounding society. It also helps them to increase their self-understanding. Many upper secondary students pass the test with excellent marks showing great maturity and openness when facing new and demanding challenges.

Environment as a Challenge by Ms Anu Harvala, Ms Sanna Mehtälä ans Ms Mirja Ronkainen from the Kempele Upper Secondary School (acknowledgement of merit in 1994)

During three weeks Anu Harvala, Sanna Mehtälä and Mirja Ronkainen collected some 40 pieces of news about environmental issues. In April 1994 they used the collected material as source for a group study on how various religions of the world look upon nature. This was a part of religion teaching. In the summary they conclude that religions do not say enough to protect nature. This is why a new world order and new ethics are needed. New ethics mean new values, attitudes and new knowledge. All religions say that man does not own nature, but she should live in peace and harmony with it.

As a part of their chemistry studies these girls presented the principles of an ecological way of life and nature-centered thinking. They investigated the role of environmental education and how this should be developed to reach workplaces, too. The group suggests eco-projects for local people. They made their class mates familiar with the Environment Guide of the Oulu Municipality. They were especially interested in collecting news on the pollution of the Baltic Sea and of Bulgaria, on oil accidents, forestry and on preserving cultural heritage.

The students interviewed people like the chairperson and members of the Local Council, the headmaster of their school and the secretary of the local environment protection department. They wanted to know what those interviewed thought about recycling, recycled products and nuclear waste disposal in the Finnish soil. They also wanted those interviewed to come up with new visions on how to improve the Kempele environment. They had these interviews as sources when they wrote an article for the local paper "Kempeleläinen.

They also gave a talk in the school morning assembly and shared their findings and interviews with the audience and challenged all their school mates to protect nature. People often talk about environment, but too often this is all. Idle talk should be abandoned and take to action instead, Sanna urges. People talk about economic depression, but simultaneously we can afford to throw away everything we think is free of charge, says Anu and continues: Are we really that selfish that all we see is ourselves?

Mirja Ronkainen thinks that the maturity test for global citizenship is quite many-sided. She thinks they succeeded well in their work although cooperation was sometimes difficult and authorities did not always keep their promises. Our plans changed many times, but all in all the maturity test for global citizenship was an interesting experience."

6.5.3 Vocational Institutions

There seems to be a difference in what view vocational adult education centers on the one hand and vocational schools on the other take on the maturity test for global citizenship. Both emphasize their abilities to train students in internationalism. Systematic international education has not yet been established in all vocational institutions. Adult education centers, employed by local employers and labour offices are perhaps more able than other vocational institutions to meet current requirements and develop tailor-made teaching programmes. Hard competition increases the need for distant teaching and minimizes contact teaching. New technology decreases the need for contact teaching if the course is well planned.

Common characteristics of vocational institutions are the following:

- They have many international contacts and co-projects;
- Many of their students make use of exchange programmes and have practical training abroad;
- Many professions are carried on in multicultural workplaces;
- Institutions offer teaching in foreign languages and language- and cultural programmes;
- Educational services for immigrants;
- International competition requires constant quality development of training.

Adult education centers are not as tide up with curricula as other vocational institutions. They are more flexible and able to plan their training according to the needs of various business firms and also create quite new forms of education. They can invite the expertise they need e.g. from another country. Chinese teachers teach Chinese and Chinese culture. And students can be asked to be responsible for some parts of the teaching.

When Finnish enterprises started entering international markets and in the early days of European integration, schools faced the need of internationalization. No Finn can cope with the world as a tourist. On the contrary he/she must be a professional in global citizenship.

Surprisingly enough, the themes chosen by the participants of the maturity test in vocational education do not contentwise differ from those in general education. Some of the tests emphasize the learning process itself and contacts thus made more than the actual output. In such cases it is important for the Finnish UN Association to have a direct personal contact with the participants. These contacts often reveal that learning processes can be very demanding and meaningful even though the student is unable to report about his/her study in written or other form like images or tape recordings.

The Vaasa Restaurant and Hotel Polytechnic: The Cameleont by Tanja Parkkima

Tanja Parkkima studied the topic "Refugees". The diary Tanja Parkkima kept gives an excellent example of personal contemplation and critical self-assessment. She has a holistic, critical and honest attitude to various situations she faced during her study.

"It was today we discussed with other girls such issues as the maturity test for global citizenship in general, our theme "Refugees", keeping a personal diary and possible problems, which arise mostly because of our attitudes and prejudice. There we are! My personal attitudes are conflicting..."

Tanja made acquaintance with Immigrant Offices in Jyväskylä and Vaasa. She made interviews to hear what people in Jyväskylä and Vaasa think and know about refugees and what experience they have of them. She found out that Finns are not easily to be interviewed.

Many people said that valuable time must not be wasted to such nonsense. Tanja's experience of these interviews was quite negative. Only two people out of five have a positive attitude to refugees, while others are against them. Most people thought that it is unnecessary for Finland to accept refugees who would live on social security, when the local situation is so difficult because of unemployment. Refugees were regarded mainly as economic exiles.

Vaasa on Wednesday, May 3rd, 1995
"While parking our car we were still very enthusiastic about seeing how we would manage, although we both had butterflies in our stomachs. The situation was still under control when we had not entered the refugee centre. We encouraged each other. We thought everything would go just fine. Vain hope. All kinds of phobias caught us when we stumbled in. I felt so alone when standing at the end of a huge, long and dark corridor. Should I walk through this corridor. It was too quiet and I simply wanted out of there. I would rather be in my grand-mother's cellar than here.

I was not alone with my feelings because also Päivi, my friend wanted to back out. We got panicked. But we still continued walking, you can call that Finnish sisu! At the same time we feared we might pop into a black face. And we did: suddenly we faced three coal black young men on the corridor. They said in Finnish with an accent: "Hello, girls, how are you?" We answered:"Quite all right" or something like that. Really great reporters we are! We could not think of absolutely anything. After that the men started speaking their own language which sounded as if their mouths had been full of a thousand little pebbles. They started laughing, at us! How absolutely arrogant of them!"

Sharing the Responsibility for the World by Ms Hannele Vertainen, acknowledgement of merit in 1994. Vantaa Polytechnic

Hannele Vertainen has a degree in social studies and is 39 years of age. She is a single parent of two sons and a daughter who made her a grand-mother this spring. Hannele kept a diary and chose her theme after having followed media for a period. She studied the theme of solidarity and thinks that the lack of it is one the reasons for present global problems.

She thinks that schools play a vital role in educating the young to become responsible citizens. Hannele interviewed the pupils of the Vantaa upper secondary schools. Her interviews make her come to the conclusion that schools do not encourage youngsters to become responsible citizens. The students in these schools could not define solidarity as a social activity. Some made the whole interview a joke. Hannele thinks that the atmosphere in these upper secondary schools was restless and tired. The students could not concentrate enough to listen to each other or the visitor. Nothing seemed to be of importance to them.

Hannele made interviews also with people who work for the UN. She was quite disappointed. They were very little committed to solving the problems they were supposed to solve. There seemed to be no solidarity at the level of the international secretariat.

Hannele refers to Antoine de Saint-Exupery, the author of "The Little Prince":
"If respecting human beings sometimes becomes rooted in the hearts of men, people will found a social and economic system, which guarantees this respect. Civilization is created in the heart of existence and means a human being's blind wish to have certain warmth. And after making one mistake after the other she finally finds her way to the fire."

Hannele calls her final paper "Full Life - Freedom and Responsibility". She discusses the human search for knowledge in the following way:

After a moment of insight, there comes the wish to know as much and as possible of everything in the world. But first one must overcome the following fears: the fear of being different, the fear of the strange and the fear of changing life. After that one can quite peacefully concentrate in acquiring and receiving knowledge. A vital part of all this is self-development, being aware of one's ability and need of development.

Hannele thinks that every human being is responsible for what he/she does. She finds the maturity test for global citizenship interesting also because it was totally based on one's own thinking. She enjoyed enormously the fact that for once she could say what she really thought.

6.5.4 Adult Education

The challenge to global citizenship carries out general goals set to adult education. There are formal obstacles as adult education is:

- open by its very nature;
- respects the student;
- regards the student's personal qualifications in the teaching process;
- frees itself from a tight curriculum and one concept of knowledge;
- differs from general and vocational education in its level of freedom.

Difficulties may arise when integrating the maturity test for global citizenship in adult education which tends to:

- have courses and be teacher dominated;
- have a short attention span;
- have little time for working with a longer attention span;
- preserve old traditions instead of being aware of them;
- offer teaching which preserves old perceptions;
- nourish expectations which prevent a wider view;
- renew itself quite slowly;
- attract students who are too "ready";
- perceive the world from an "us-and-them" -view-point;
- have too little time for real communication to find common good;
- spread information instead of knowledge;
- leave little time for awareness-raising processes and information becoming knowledge because of its information spreading nature;

- attracts students with traditional literacy instead of cultural literacy;
- leave little time for processing what has been learnt.

Paasikivi Institute, Turku

There were 24 students of cultural studies who participated in the test in 1995. Their themes were: Youth Gangs; Women in the Army in Different Countries; Woman in Islam;The Chinese Politics; United States as the Global Police; The UN Campaign Against Smoking; Rainforests; Eastern Mafia; China and Refugees;

In this institute many students began the test but only three passed. It is evident that the Finnish UN Association should have tutored the participants. Those who passed left brief and mechanic papers. There was practically no analysis, dedication or questioning. Quite a disappointing result. The question arises if the duration of the course was too short for a study demanding a long attention span. The students probably had only little experience of independent search for knowledge and self-directed learning.

6.5.5 Experience of the Activity of Organisations

When the maturity tests started the interest of various organisations to take the test was expected to be great. The Finnish UN Association has as members several organisations from the educational field and youth and women's organisations as well. They could well adopt the maturity test as part of their activities. More than 100 organisations were informed about the test in a membership letter recommending the test as a continuing education possibility for their staff. But interest was poor. Only two organisations showed interest in 1995.

The Democratic Youth League of Finland, Raisio

Tutorage by the Finnish UN Association. There were 11 students who passed the test in 1995. As a group they studied the theme "Refugees".

The general feed-back was positive. The project lasted longer than expected but the students' enthusiasm encouraged to carry on. The group's choice for theme was "Refugees". Their approach was very practical. The group commented on news and articles they found in the media, interviewed people asking their opinions about refugees, visited the Refugee Centre in Stockholm and the International Meeting Place in Turku. The group invited refugee families as guests to their camps. They also arranged an international get-together, where with cultural means the audience got acquainted with the cultures the refugees came from. The students' great wish was to make refugee friends.

The group work went well although there were some drop-outs. The theme was challenging and extensive enough and kept the students active. If compared with the results from general and vocational education, these students showed an active and pragmatic approach with dedication to the problematic theme of refugees. It was no easy task. Sometimes the students felt they had been unjustly treated because some schools refused to help them in finding a proper place for their get-together. The reason to this was that school legislation forbids all political organisations from being active in schools.

6.5.6 Teacher Training and Further Education

There are several teacher training colleges which offer an opportunity to participate in the challenge to global citizenship as part of their formal training in multicultural studies. Also some teacher's use the test as their personal study programme.

Teleteaching Project by Ms Liisa Pihkala and Mr Juhani Pihkala, Kokkola Vocational School

The teachers of Kokkola Vocational Institute Liisa and Juhani Pihkala studied the use of electronic data files. The aim of their project was to develop the quality of learning and teaching and to improve the results. The project made them learn more about methods which concentrate in student-centered teaching, self-directed learning, project work and modern technology. In their opinion teleteaching improves the accessibility of teaching and opens new doors to international teaching.
The students learnt how to use electronic mail. They used electronic data files in Freenet and searched database and links needed in various projects. Students made use of electronic bulletin boards by participating in the following teleteaching projects:

1. The Global Sport Project, England
2. Computer Pals Across the World, Singermeerten College, the Netherlands
3. Global Novel Project, Canada
4. Gender Survey, Nevada, USA
5. Poems around the World Project
6. Global Novel Project 2
7. Newsday Project, USA.

In his assessment Juhani Pihkala stresses the importance of electronic communication. He has made many personal friends by joining IECC (International E-Mail Classroom Connections) and ESP (European Schools Project) mailing lists. Juhani's branch is process and chemical engineering. This is why he follows the mailing lists of chemistry, recycling, work security and clothing industry.

Learning the technical side of e-mail is no problem. Connections are all over the world. One must not be shy to enter different discussion groups and projects and communicate in English as well as one can, says Juhani Pihkala.

Liisa Pihkala says that the project went according to her expectations. This method turned out to be modern and motivating and it developed social skills. Receiving messages was often enough to motivate and instruct the student.

Internationalism got a new face: it was possible to communicate in real time with Australian, American, German, Canadian, Israeli and British collegues. We felt that the world was ours. Messages from abroad were both expected and welcome.

Cultural Meetings at School, A Thematic Week on Islam at the Oulu Normal School, Lower Level, 1994; the Department of Teacher Education of University of Oulu, by Ms Anne Kumpula and Päivi Siurua

Anne Kumpula and Päivi Siurua think that one's culture exists only in relation to other cultures. People tend to regard their culture as better and more sensible than other cultures. When cultures

meet, ethnocentricity becomes stronger. When speaking about culture one must also consider things like otherness, stereotypes and prejudice.

The students say that one cannot apply the same yardstick to various cultures with their various ways of life, world views and perceptions of man. The problem of cultural education is the fact that our basic knowledge of other cultures is random and imperfect. It is not easy for us to convey cultural images.

The girls think that teachers as cultural educators approach cultures from the point of view of their particular subjects. Cultures are not presented in a negative way, but the aim is rather to teach the subject itself, not the culture.

Anne and Päivi thought that a thematic week would best present Islam. Basic knowledge of Islam was given by the teacher and a visitor, but also by discussions, written tasks and an educational video. Workshops gave a chance to find answers to questions about Islamic culture. The story telling workshop had the form of an Arabic basar, where students took the roles of bargaining clients and sharp tongued merchants. In the tent of the basar stories from Arabian Nights were told to children. In the music workshop children got acquainted with Islamic instruments and Arabic notes. Children sang the same song in the Finnish and Arabic way. In the kitchen workshop they made and ate Arabic food. In the ornament workshop pupils moved in time to the Turkey of the 1600th century, where they as apprentices learnt from their master how to make ceramic wall tiles.

The pupils knew practically nothing about Islam in the beginning. This was shown by their mind maps. To improve their knowledge they studied Islam in history and geography. Children were especially interested in the below questions:

- What laws are there in the Sharia? Who has written the Sharia?
- Woman in Islam; what belongs to the role of woman; how do women dress?
- What is Islamic architecture like?
- What is the life of the Bedouins like? Who are they and where do they live?
- What is the situation of the Arabic language in the world? What is Arabic like? Is it difficult to learn?
- Science and arts: are there many scientists? What kind of research do they do?

A successful thematic week requires that the pupils study source materials in advance. It was practically impossible to give a holistic view of Islam. The thematic week described here should have dealt only with Muslims in Finland or in a particular country, say the girls. Information and experiences can be given of a far-off culture, but you cannot transfer positive attitudes. When making acquaintance with a culture, information and experience can be spread, but you cannot transfer a positive attitude if it does not exist already. The essential thing is that one is interested in the culture in question and if so, teaching in school nourishes this interest.

To learn we must jump into the unknown.

6.6 Conclusions and Recommendations

The maturity test for global citizenship is an efficient method for international and peace education. The test gives annual feed-back of the present state of Finnish teaching and schooling and of students' abilities.

The present experience of the maturity test confirms that via media and basic education Finns get a narrow and mechanistic idea of the surrounding world. Both mass media and text books tend to regard global problems as threats rather than as challenges. This is revealed by the way students discuss various issues in their tests.

The students show undisputed ability to make use of written sources of information as found in libraries. But what is clearly missing is a critical approach. It seems to be quite difficult for the students to summarize books. Interviews and study visits are one step forward on the way to a more many-sided search for information. This step seems to be within the reach of only the most active students. Only a few are able to analyze and summarize their oral information sources.

An active and target-oriented use of electronic data files is not yet self-evident for the global citizen. A minority knows how to do this, the majority tends to ignore this opportunity even though public libraries offer easy access to this source, if schools do not yet do it.

Interactive schooling in the form of various courses can be included in the electronic files of a global citizen. The contents and aims of such courses are defined by what the students wish to study.

It is necessary to find potential foreign students who would take the test in order to gradually create a global citizens' network.

Without personal contact with schools there is no entry to what takes place in schools today. More time than now should be dedicated to informing about the test and tutorage in schools themselves. But this must not stand in the way of the present openness of the test.

More and more emphasis will be put on education instead of teaching, which in itself is not enough. It is important to recognize and become aware of tolerance and intolerance. This process needs tutoring and well-developed methods of research. The Finnish UN Association plays an important role as a trainer of educators in this field.

The present school system encourages the student to act as an object rather than as a subject. International recommendations and the idea of self-directed learning support personal responsibility and capacity to act as a subject. In such a situation the relationship between the student and his/her theme has a meaning revealing nature. Understanding oneself and one's culture is the basis of all learning.

The person who takes the maturity test for global citizenship is rather an outsider, an observer, for whom engagement is difficult. Studying a theme becomes a self-directed process, in which it is demanding to apply the acquired knowledge to creative processes.

It is one of the central tasks of the Finnish UN Association to motivate more and more students to take the maturity test and help them in passing it. In practice this means increasing the efficiency of its information activities and meaningful tutorage to those who decide to take the maturity test for global citizenship.

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PART FOUR: INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY AS A CHALLENGE FOR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

1. EXERCISES IN SOCIAL RHETORIC - PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES IN IMPLEMENTING INTERNATIONALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Marja Laesvirta

1.1 Background and Rationale

This presentation is based on my Doctoral Dissertation that was a qualitative study about four universities' problems and possibilities in implementing internationalization in their institutions. Two of the universities are in Finland, other two in Oregon, in the United States. The data for the research was collected late 1993, early 1994 - however, I firmly believe, this data is still valid today in 1997. If not any more 100 % applicable to the university level, but to AMKs, highschools and basic education settings.

Before settling down here in Jyväskylä City Education Department, I have worked over 15 years as a university administrator in Finland. During those years one of my main responsibilities has been to internationalize my home university. For me, there has always existed a mismatch between leadership, policies, planning and the practical everyday internationalization work inside the university. Based on these experiences of my own I argued, and still do, that the fashionable trend to internationalize causes problems and confusion on the operational level of the traditionally national, homogeneous, and monolingual administration of higher education institutions in Finland.

In the United States, where I have had the possibility of twice (1984-85 & 1991-94) focusing my studies on various aspects of internationalization issues, the concept as well as the practical level of internationalization have got new dimensions in my mind. These experiences have widened my understanding about the complexity and global dependency of institutional internationalization.

All along the way internationalization has been seen as a reality that should exist in higher education institutions. However, at the same time, the higher education institutions live in another reality, where there are scarce financial and personnel resources, domestic curricula and responsibilities for the community, already a multitude of other educational roles, traditional programs and services in a traditional campus environment with traditional students, fixed administration patterns with rules and regulations and administrators with work routines based on this pattern. Anyway, a lot of international activities and planning are and have been everyday university life since the existence of higher education.

However, I argued that, in spite of the many ongoing internationalization activities, universities have not clearly defined what internationalization means to them individually, and have difficulties in conducting the development of many international operations. There seems to be a tendency to use rhetorical

language about the importance of internationalization, and to answer with busy ad hoc solutions to various internationalizing pressures from inner and outer institutional quarters. This, I assume, is a result of an unidentified, mixed dependency on the "new" interdependent world expressed in speeches of modern politicians, economists and technocrats. The highly developed, western higher education systems, both in Finland and in the United States, feel to be pressured to internationalize, and try to implement everything that sounds international, and by doing so, try to maintain their competitiveness in this economic and political world. At the same time, universities get deeply involved in the operational and practical level problems of internationalization because they suffer from the ambiguity of purpose of internationalization (mission, goals), power (who decides the priority order), experience (concepts, practical, and theoretical knowledge) and success (better education) in the internationalizing issue (Cohen & March, 1974).

1.2 What is then Generally Understood by the Concept and Goals of Internationalization?

The concept "internationalization" has been one of the key topics in higher education planning during the recent years. Numerous seminars, conferences, task force reports and speeches have wallowed in this concept both in the Eastern and the Western hemispheres. "Internationalization" has been defined in various ways by ministries of education, educational boards and memoranda; speeches have emphasized the importance of the notion of the rapidly growing interdependency in today's world (e.g., Berg, 1991; Esnault, 1991). Following the worldwide internationalization demands, many higher education institutions have felt the urge to do something in order to internationalize themselves (Tampereen yliopisto tänään ja huomenna, 1991). This "something" comprises the expansion of already existing policies such as international student recruitment, international student and faculty exchanges, the creation of international curricula or schools, development of services for international students and of international communication networks, to mention but a few. These projects have understood the concept "internationalization of higher education" to be a means to bring international culture to a domestic university and at the same time to create for "domestic students" an easy access to the outside world. I call these practical HOW-concepts.

During the time the universities have concentrated on the means of "how" to internationalize themselves, they, I strongly argue, have often forgotten to carefully consider "why" they really are using these means and what the effect will be on their institutions. One argument why universities should be internationalized is often raised by political decision makers. These world economists and politicians say that there is a growing interdependency because of cultural, economic, political, social, and technological changes in the world. That is why higher education institutions should be internationalized to produce more and more cosmopolitan graduates.

The WHY-concepts are extremely important. Every educational institution should keep these WHYs in mind, when they start to plan their internationalization projects. Should think carefully, in which priority order should a university respond to these assumed international interdependency requirements? How should it set its internationalization goals while keeping in mind national needs? Should a university regard internationalization as assistance to those students and countries that have a weak or no higher education systems? Should internationalization be seen as multilateral scientific cooperation, or as purely commercial business that would benefit national needs? Should the goals consist of independent prioritized university policies or should external forces set the outlines of these policies? There are no simple answers to these questions.

1.3 Practical Concerns in an Internationalization Process

There are many practical concerns involved in an institutional internationalization process. What is the extent a university should be internationalized or maybe there is no need to internationalize?

If I think of the beginnings of higher education in medieval Europe, when the language of the university education was Latin and students were free to move from one university to another, I am urged to ask whether higher education has not been international from its very beginning. Today the unilangual character of the medieval world university has disappeared; however, there are strong foreign language and multicultural programs in many universities that enhance international communication and understanding.

So, what is all this fuss about internationalization of higher education today? Is there not a danger that the internationalization of universities will become an idle trend, a popular fashion, and that the university that writes the most extensive task force report on internationalizing itself, will gain the most local, even national prestige? Is there not another danger, that this prestige be used to evaluate and measure and then to categorize universities on a "bad-good"-scale thus pushing aside "the high-quality education in sciences, professional preparation, advancement of scientific and humanistic knowledge and the educational, cultural and economic needs" (University of Oregon, 1991-92, p. i) of a domestic university student? Why internationalize if the fundamental character of higher education is already international?

1.4 Operational Complexity of Internationalization

There is little doubt that the internationalization of already international higher education institutions is complex. At least, complex in the sense of working together towards a common goal. Why is it so? I see two reasons for this complexity: the organizationally fragmented structure of higher education institutions and the inner institutional attitudes about expertise, power and leadership.

This complexity causes problems, I argue. Where do the problematics come from? I understand the internationalization of a university as a puzzle with thousands of pieces. Ordinary puzzles are sometimes complex but you can solve them, maybe, because the pieces of these puzzles do not change; you can spread them out on a table and see them all the time. Those around the same table see them too, though in a slightly different way, but there is only one solution. Each piece has its predetermined place and all together make the whole. The more often you attempt to solve the puzzle the faster it goes and the result is always the same.

Internationalization is a kind of a puzzle for higher education as well. It has many pieces: conceptual (traditional research, plans, missions and visions, power, and expertise) and functional (international programs and students, study abroad, international information networking and cooperation, financial and human resources), but these pieces tend to change all the time. Outer and inner institutional pressures cut or reform their edges. The pieces are scattered all around the institution, on different tables, even under the tables and sometimes hidden behind the doors. The puzzle solvers (top administrators, service administrators, faculty and maybe students as well) see the pieces in different ways, do not sit at the same table, always miss one piece or have too many of them. The more often they try to solve this puzzle, the faster it may go, but there may be many results depending on how many pieces each solver was allowed to use and could find. A coherent, all satisfying solution is difficult to find.

1.5 The Problem and Research Questions

The purpose of my study was to examine internationalization of higher education in two universities in Oregon, United States of America, and two universities in Finland.

My basic study proposition was that the internationalization of higher education is a complex and problematic issue. It is difficult for universities to clearly define their priorities, so they often strive for the fashionable and beneficial, in an effort to remain competitive, while overlooking the institutional imperatives and work force limitations. Problems, thus, arise in the integration of internationalization rhetoric with the domestic agenda. What are the problems, what are the possibilities?

My study wanted to pay special attention to those persons in the universities, both in the academics and administration as well as in service/support staff, who are most responsible for the internationalization of their institution. I believe that there is a constant mismatch in what the increasing institutional visions and widening international missions suppose these employees to accomplish and what they really are able to accomplish in their everyday work. These personnel issues become problematized not only because of the limited time and lack of assisting personnel resources and finances, but also because of interinstitutional gaps of information flow and lack of cooperation. All this causes misunderstandings and conflicts between top administration, faculty, and service level personnel about the priority order of internationalization efforts as well as how, and by whom, the operational internationalization work should be taken care of inside the institution.

Specifically, my research question was: What roles does internationalization play in the university infrastructure, and how do these roles manifest themselves in university operations?
My study will have many subsidiary questions that will guide me in seeking answers to this multidimensional issue. I have divided these questions into sub groups:

Pressures to Internationalize:
1. Why are higher education institutions internationalizing themselves?
2. What are the general policy recommendations that higher education institutions follow? Are they the same in Finland as in the United States?
3. What are the external and internal institutional forces that cause the problems of implementing internationalization?

Concepts:
4. What is internationalization and how is it defined? How have higher education institutions understood internationalization? Do top-administrators, middle-administrators, faculty and support staff understand internationalization in the same way? Does the "top" understand the practical aspects of internationalization when the plans are written? What is the role of the faculty in internationalization operations?

Problems:
5. What are the problems in the internationalization of higher education institutions?
6. What are the organizational/operational constraints of higher education institutions in the internationalization issue? Money? Human resources? Decision-making? Ambiguity? Pigeonholing? Lack of planning? Mutual understanding? Other?

Possibilities:
7. How could possible problems be solved?
8. What are the possibilities of internationalization now and in the future? Is it rhetoric or is there a possibility through quality planning and flexible implementation to reach the stage of an institutional praxis that leads to real internationalization?
9. Have any research methods been used to facilitate internationalization?

1.6 Some of the Findings

What did I find out? Problems? Complexity? Unsolved puzzles? Mutual understanding and Cooperation? Harmony in international operations? Happy togetherness in international processes? - I found policies, plans, problems and possibilities. To be more specific, my study found four different roles of internationalization:

- first, it played a role of policy maker
- second, a role of an organizational change agent
- third, a role of a problem maker, and
- finally, a role of a reformer-manager.

The roles of a policy-maker and organizational change agent became evident when I studied external and internal university pressures to internationalize the institutions.

The role of a problem maker covered the areas of internationalization planning and definitions, decision-making and implementation as well as cooperation and mutual learning.

The role of a reformer-manager was the youngest of all, actually just about to learn its complicated dialogue of true internationalization.

This role of a reformer-manager was also the most crucial one. In order to understand its heavy workload, it is important to differentiate between two concepts of internationalization. The respondents in my study made a clear distinction between university research and other functions of the university. They said that research and university have always been international, there is no need to internationalize. I understand this as conceptual level of internationalization, behind which concept it is easy to hide if you are not interested in new functions to forward international development. One of the university top administrators named these new functions as neo-internationalization. This functional neo-internationalization consists of operations such as student and teacher exchanges, study abroad programs and international student recruitment.

These new functions created a need to form neo-internationalization policies and plans as well as to build up organizations and to establish full-time administrative positions; i.e., new tools to run these neo-international operations. The difficulty in the role of reformer-manager is to try to combine conceptual and functional internationalization, to bring university conceptualists and functionalists together. In true internationalization both need each other. Conceptualists, mostly faculty according my study, give their scientific expertise and functionalists, mostly administrators according to my study, give their expertise in international operations to a common attempt towards coherent institutional internationalization.

How close to true internationalization the universities can get depends on the people who work for it. It is not easy.

The findings indicated that internationalization efforts played the above described four roles both in Oregon and in Finland. The role dialogues varied to some extent between these two geographic locations, but also in between the universities in the same countries.

In the following discussion I will elaborate on these roles of internationalization using my four conceptual categories: policies, plans, problems and possibilities.

1.7 Policies

All respondents emphasized that university research has always been international, it does not need any separate policy to be internationalized. This means that all four universities thought of their research as striving to be international, at least to the extent that was practical for their current situation.

This also means that when the universities described their internationalization policies, they did not actually talk about research, about conceptual internationalization, they talked about neo-internationalization; i.e about functional means, such as to move increasing masses of students and teachers, even administrators abroad, and, respectively, to enroll international students and teachers in their universities' own programs.

These functional policies created a need to establish support services, both academic and operational. As an organizational change agent the neo-internationalization policies added international office units and full-time positions into the university organization. As academic reformer this form of internationalization supported international student/teacher mobility by initiating interdisciplinary and internationally oriented programs.

1.8 Plans

Plans for internationalization were few. Those that existed were more or less international strategy visions of the campus community, they did not reach the operational level. Anyway, in those universities that had a strategic plan the campus community in that data saw the strategic plan as an institutional tool, as a "big weapon" for internationalization. The comments were as follows:

- The strategic plan gives you a heightened sense of "self"-of the university's identity .(Inside Oregon, 1993b, p. 4);
- The strategic plan is a selling tool, a big weapon and a blueprint: you need a plan to know what outside funding to seek, and you need a plan to demonstrate to potential donors that both thought and commitment went into asking. (Inside Oregon, 1993b, p. 4);
- The strategic plan is the agenda for fundraising. People out there want to know that we know what we are doing with their money. (Inside Oregon, 1993b, p. 4).

Maybe these findings defend the role of positive rhetoric in internationalization; the way you plan is perhaps not the most important issue, but what is important is to talk and plan coherently. This rhetorical approach was emphasized also by the Chancellor who stated:

- The way we get to do things is that we talk the way to them. It usually takes a lot of talking to get at least a little bit of doing. I don't see a problem, I see a messiness. There is a substance that you can plan.

1.9 Problems

What causes the problems? Can they be solved? Do the top administrators, international service administrators, and faculty understand internationalization in the same way? Does the "top" understand the functional side of internationalization when the plans are written? What is the role of the faculty? What are the organizational constraints of higher education institutions in internationalization? Money? Human resources? Decision making? Ambiguity? Pigeonholing? Lack of planning? Lack of mutual understanding?

Van Vught (1991) stated that higher education has changed much since the medieval times, however, some fundamental features have stayed the same. These fundamental features make planning, cooperation, and implementation difficult: (a) the handling of knowledge, (b) the extreme diffusion of the decision - making power, (c) the way innovations take place, and (f) the way in which the authority is distributed within the university. How then are my findings of internationalization at the four universities supported by van Vught's (1991) notion of four fundamental features?

First, the handling of knowledge, which according to van Vught, leads to organizational fragmentation, or, according to Cohen and March (1974), to specialized cells insulated from the rest of the organization, or in pigeonholes. Respondents of all four universities complained about issues such as: "lack of meeting face-to-face," "lack of open line communication," "lack of knowledge of international potential," "lack of support from colleagues," "lack of interest," "problem of egos," "need to protect own territory," "complexity of organization," "lack of priorities," "lack of standard policies and procedures."

There was no difference whether the respondent was a faculty member, top administrator or service administrator, all expressed the same type of feeling of isolation and lack of togetherness.

Second, the extreme diffusion of the decision-making power. Van Vught (1991) argued that because of the fragmentation the decision-making power will be spread over a large number of units and actors. Statements like "mixed," "no one," "everyone," "no comprehensive top-level decisions," bureaucratic, poor delegation, multilevel, multiunit describe the diffusion.

Third, van Vught stated that innovations in higher education institutions are mainly incremental adjustments building up to larger flows of change. This incremental nature of internationalization efforts becomes clear in the answers like "everybody seems to plan but not in a cooperative way," "individual initiatives from professors," "too much to do," "competing demands," "other goals more important." Again, these statements are from all four universities and represent all respondent categories.

Finally, the way the authority is distributed. Van Vught argued that the authority has been and still is located with the academic professionals. He said that at the level of the institutional administration the authority is rather weak. Responses, such as "no respect towards front-line workers," "international services struggle for more cooperation," "negative attitudes," "not our-job-

attitudes" also refer to Mintzberg's (1979) notion of "chalk suppliers." These chalk suppliers seemed to be international service administrators whose job was to ensure that "the international classrooms are well supplied with chalk," an expression that was best interpreted by a University service administrator who said:

> Usually those who do the actual work are those without power. They just have to do what they are told, even though it is not always what is best for the client or the staff. We have to implement when something is a "must" or there is a need to save somebody's skin or to please somebody.

As "chalk suppliers," and because of the incremental nature of international innovations, the work load of international service administrators seemed to accumulate in all four universities. Statements, such as "job expectations are unrealistic," "short staffed for the work we do," "work regarded overzealous," "multipositional work," "over time, extra hours," "no possibility to concentrate on larger issues," tell about the mismatch between university community's expectations and the real capacity of international service units.

International top administrators at these four universities who had the character of Etzioni's (1964) "professionally oriented administrator" (p.27), i.e., professional education with managerial personality and practice as well as special training, felt anyway quite powerful in the international organization. They were "consensus builders," "finance searchers," "committee members," and "managers." They all played roles in internationalization efforts that tried to shield the faculty and even to balance possible disturbances around them.

1.10 Possibilities

What are now the possibilities for true internationalization? How could the problems in planning, decision making, implementation, cooperation, and mutual learning be solved? Is rhetoric there to stay? Is there a possibility through quality planning and flexible implementation to reach the stage of an institutional praxis (Foster, 1986) that leads to true internationalization? Could some research methods facilitate internationalization efforts?

How should internationalization play its role as a reformer-manager in the traditional university organization with all its fundamental features- pigeonholing, diffusion of decision making, incremental nature of innovations, and authority distribution?

"Internationalization needs more money, more people, more time" was a statement on which all four universities agreed. All universities also wanted to have broader interest and involvement in functional internationalization throughout the university community. Especially in Oregon, other educational levels and the legislature were sought to be partners in international functions. In Finland, where functional internationalization cannot use only the Finnish language, it was suggested that the university staff development should consist of foreign language learning and multicultural issues as a means towards better and coherent internationalization. In Oregon, where the English language did not cause problems in intercultural communication in the university administration, the concern was to get Oregon students to learn foreign languages before they enter the university.

In the Finnish Universities where international functions were not clearly organized, the respondents wanted to have a stronger structure for centralized neo-international services. In Oregon, where

such organization exists, the respondents wanted to have clearer delineation of areas of authority between international administrators and faculty.

When I consider all different answers and opinions, it seemed that what has been done in Oregon universities to promote functional internationalization (clear organization, strategic planning, international student recruitment, fundraising) is currently done or planned to be done in the Finnish universities. Alternatively, in what the Finns have been successful (entering students with foreign language skills, study abroad, wide participation in planning, individual initiatives), the Oregonians are starting to seek success.

It also seemed to me that each university was adding and changing its internationalization "strategies." They each wanted to be more international, but in their own way. They all had the potential but were tied up with university traditions. It was difficult to adjust to the needs of neo-internationalization: to cooperate from one cell to another, to learn from and understand each other's international work, to break down conceptual internationalization traditions, and instead, to believe in the expertise of professional international administrators with their functional knowledge and skills. As one of the faculty members stated: "The International Office has still lots to do in cultivating the attitudes."

The role of a reformer-manager of internationalization was the most difficult. Doing the analysis I became convinced that this role needs to teach universities how to manage strategic planning techniques, but the role also needs to include an exercise in social rhetoric that has made me, as an international administrator, uneasy many times. But this time the rhetoric should be focused on those who have not been actively involved in internationalization efforts.

1.11 What does All this Mean?

I have studied internationalization in four universities, two in Oregon and two in Finland. The analysis of the data collected from these universities has shown the complexity and breadth of the concept, goals, definitions, and practical operations of internationalization. I have found that research cannot be internationalized because, as the respondents claimed, the research is already international by its very nature. Thus, I have been researching internationalization of other functions of the university, the neo-internationalization that is functional by its nature and focuses on the means to increase international activities, such as student/teacher/researcher, even administrator mobility by building support frames in the university infrastructure, both operational and academic.

Functional internationalization tends to be currently centralized in the university organization, whereas conceptual internationalization has a decentralized character. It dwells in isolated cells in schools and departments.

Any one definition for true internationalization has been difficult to find. The most common two denominators of all four universities for internationalization have been "competitiveness" and "being part of the global family." Ideally, true coherent internationalization seems to combine conceptual and functional internationalization.

The ways to become a member of the enlarged world around the university varied from one university to another. However, neo-internationalization also played, to a certain extent, similar roles in these four universities' infrastructures. It directed the development of new

internationalization policies and by doing this functioned as an organizational change agent. Neo-internationalization took incremental steps and tried to adjust to each university's situations. The incremental steps tended to accumulate in a non-prioritized way, which caused a mismatch between work expectations and the capacity of international service units.

In Oregon the development has taken over 90 years, in Finland about 20 years. However, in both countries, neo-internationalization has played a big role of a problem maker by intruding into the traditional university organization.

As a problem maker in my study neo-internationalization has shown the existence of separate domains and fragmented and isolated units, which work independently, according to their own work norms and patterns inside the university organization.

Neo-internationalization, being comprehensive and coherent by its nature, was often regarded as a conflict maker because it did not fit into the traditional planning, decision-making, and implementing role of the four universities. Neo-internationalization would have required cooperation, mutual learning, flexibility, and trust in order to have been successful. These were the issues that lacked and made its success problematic both in Finland and Oregon.

However, neo-internationalization has shown its potential as well. It has taught the university communities to talk about themselves; some like it, others not. Neo-internationalization has gained some success in the form of strategic plans in Oregon and is developing strategies in Finland as well. The internationalization strategies were in general considered important, they could better direct the future development by prioritizing the increasing international issues and budgeting. Based on one of the Universites' responses, it seemed that writing one strategic plan for internationalization is not enough. Writing a strategic plan by only a few is not acceptable. Making it serve only internationalization interests of a few in the university community is also not acceptable.

How could then universities' internationalization efforts be better promoted in the future?

What should be done to promote more coherent implementation of internationalization in higher education institutions?

Considering the current reality of scarce financial resources and on-going budget cuts of higher education both in Oregon and in Finland, each of the universities studied understands that at least the first two parts of their statement "internationalization needs more money, more people, more time" are often wishful thinking. That is why other solutions should be thought of:

1. Most important is to talk about internationalization. I even recommend exercises in social rhetoric about internationalization, the main purpose of which would be to generate more awareness of and broader interest in functional internationalization among students, faculty and among those administrators who do not work full-time in international affairs. However, the talkers should not only be the educational leaders, top administrators, or faculty but also the professional international administrators in service units who should be respected and taken seriously. This talking would reveal those patterns of actions that could facilitate conceptual internationalization to join new global challenges in various functional ways. This talking should happen in the form of a dialogue, where, according to Senge (1990), a group explores complex

difficult issues from many points of view. Individuals suspend their assumptions but they communicate their assumptions freely. The result is a free exploration that brings to the surface the full depth of people's experience and thought, and yet can move beyond their individual views. The main point is for all the participants to work together to become sensitive to all the possible forms of incoherence (Senge, 1990).

2. As my study has shown, the traditionally weak authority of international administrators has prevented them from using their expertise. For this reason I recommend that the universities should seriously plan to use participatory action research as a means to develop mutual understanding and respect among top administrators, faculty, and international service administrators, as well as among other members of the university community who support but are not familiar with functional internationalization activities. Especially in Finland, the domestic administrators should be empowered through participatory action research to meet international challenges. As one method of participatory action research the universities could use "job rotation," i.e., exchanging jobs. As Whyte (1991) wrote, work experience is the foundation for participation and understanding. The organizational learning is enhanced when members of the organization have an active ownership in the project.

I am convinced that the job rotation would be highly educative for the participants as individuals. I strongly argue that participatory action research would be also educative toward the content of internationalization problems. The activities would build on the "relationship of mutual trust" (Whyte, 1991, p. 87) between the units. They would develop ownership of internationalization activities. The participants would become empowered to express their views and opinions, even on the lowest levels of the organizational hierarchy.

All this would help the participants to understand that their university is a complex, multi-faceted higher education institution, and the problems connected with true internationalization are multi-determined (Schmuck & Runkel, 1988).

3. After the participatory action research has taught the university community "the open lines of communication," "respect to front-line workers," "accumulation of individual international incentives," and "who the three ladies in educational office are," i.e., to cooperate and mutually understand each other, the universities should start planning or revising their strategic plans for internationalization. I emphasize the word "strategic," however, in the way van Vught (1991) defined a strategic plan that could be implemented. Thus, a strategic plan that focuses on true internationalization of the universities should recognize the fact that the internal as well as the external knowledge of internationalization is always uncertain and changing, and because of that the control is always incomplete. The plan should leave space for flexibility to make adaptations to unforeseen circumstances. Small changes that preferably follow a certain pattern of action are better than a comprehensive reform. Throughout the planning process mutual learning and dialogue should be used. Delegation to those who have the theoretical knowledge as well to those who have personal experience on international issues should be used. Possible delay, compromising, and bargaining should be key factors in the decision-making process in order to bring some coherence and some generally shared values to the plan.

After all these well-meaning recommendations for better internationalization, problems still remain. Who will or wants to take the responsibility for initiating and managing possible participatory action research projects, and for the comprehensive effort of compromising and bargaining the strategically correct internationalization plan? This question leads to further study.

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2. REFLECTIONS ON LEARNING FROM EXCHANGE STUDENTS IN FINLAND AND AUSTRIA

Michael Berry

I would like to begin with a story about an ethnographer in a foreign country. In an introductory chapter to *The Professional Stranger* (1996), Michael Ager describes an experience that he had in a South Indian village. One day his cook placed a piece of charcoal on the top of his lunch just before he left on a journey to another village. When Ager asked "why?", the cook responded, "to protect you from the spirits". Ager tells this story to illustrate key characteristics of the way ethnography works. First, he was in an interesting part of the world, he was participating in everyday life of a village and he was observing what was happening in the village. Second, he was perplexed by a local practice, and realized that his assumptions about how the world works were inadequate for understanding what had happened. He had discovered what he calls a "rich point". Having discovered the rich point - the existence of a gap between his assumptions and those of his cook - he attempted to put the cook's action into some kind of meaningful context.

In short, the local cook provided Ager with an opportunity to learn something new about the host culture. To take advantage of this learning opportunity, Ager had to "frame" the new information in order to explain the relationship between charcoal, food, and spirits. He asked questions about the use of charcoal and observed when and how it was used. In this way, he validated parts of the frame and modified other parts. As he detected patterns in the practice of placing charcoal on food, Ager learned that the spirits created problems for two kinds of people: young woman who were married off to men in other villages and young men who moved to the city in search of employment. In both cases, the evil spirits often forced them to return to their village. As Ager attempted to understand why the cook placed a piece of charcoal on his food, he gained new insights into village life. By trying to understand an incident, Ager eventually understood much more about the larger picture. In the process of discovering a system of practices and meanings in the use of charcoal, Ager inevitably reflected on his own life experience that had given him another understanding of village life.

This story is relevant for teachers and students in a multicultural classroom. First, teachers and students are also in an interesting part of the world. A multicultural classroom is, by definition, an interesting place to be. Second, something always happens in the multicultural classroom that the teacher and the students do not understand. Third, the multicultural classroom is also full of potential participant observers. They (students and the teacher) can be positioned to discover rich points that help them become aware of the distance between their assumptions and those of others, they can be positioned to develop strategies for understanding the reasons for the cultural differences and they can be positioned to develop ways to communicate across the cultural gap. Position is not determined, however, by location in a given environment. It is determined by how a person interacts with others in that environment.

Teachers of intercultural communication and the management of intercultural relations are often positioned or position themselves to provide students with knowledge about other cultures and to explain different characteristics of those cultures. Role-play, e.g. taking the role of negotiators from different cultures, is also a common teaching method. When this approach is followed, the concept "cultural awareness" usually means awareness of "other". The teacher acts as the authority on the subject and the students play the role of the learners. Academic achievement by the students is associated with the ability to demonstrate extensive knowledge about other cultures or to apply that knowledge in some way. Traditional institutional assumptions of efficiency based on "ownership" of roles, e.g. the "rights" and "obligations" of teachers and the "rights" and "obligations" of students, lend powerful credence to this approach to teaching and learning about cultural aspects of communication and human relationships.

I prefer to position students and myself as aspiring ethnographers "stumbling towards awareness" (Voss, 1997) of the ways culture affects our ability to communicate and cooperate in intercultural settings (see Appendix). Just as the Indian cook provided an American ethnographer with an opportunity to learn something new, students and teachers in a multicultural classroom can provide each other with opportunities to learn something new. As one French exchange student put it, "I had to go to Finland to discover that I am French" (Samson, 1997). As he struggled with this realization he provided his classmates and teacher with many unintended lessons on what it is to be French.

The multicultural classroom is one part of everyday life in which students can begin to develop ethnographic strategies for detecting patterns in their own speech and actions as they respond to the speech and actions of others. As they begin to reflect on their responses to intercultural encounters in a new environment, they become student-learner-teachers who teach each other as well as the teacher. The teacher who positions his/her students this way in the multicultural classroom is in a privileged position to reflect on the learning process that s/he and his/her students are experiencing.

In this kind of learning environment everyone is a an expert on his/her culture but is often unable to explain the "obvious" to others because there has been no need to do so in his/her own culture. The discovery of rich points creates a need and an opportunity to explain every-day practices that perplex others. It also contributes to a process of cultural awareness and to the development of intercultural communication competence in a multicultural learning environment. The teacher provides critical incidents for students to respond to but the students also create their own critical incidents and make their own discoveries while talking to each other, when writing diary entries during and after each class and when reflecting in an extensive essay at the end of the course on all their previous reflections. This cyclical discovery process (Carbaugh and Hastings, 1992; Berry, in press a) provides the teacher-learner with better stimuli for the next group of students. Patterns in the responses of students to different critical incidents provide the teacher-researcher with insights into cultural systems of coherent meaning that affect intercultural communication.

This process of discovery contributes, in turn, to developing strategies for recognizing the difference between competent and incompetent intercultural communication. As students reveal and discover separate systems of rules and meanings at the interface between different cultural systems they begin to define, in their own ways, cultural concepts of personhood (ways of being) and cultural concepts of sociation (ways of being with). They begin to think about what a person is or should be, how a person acts or should act and how a person speaks or should speak. Even partial insights lead to a better understanding of what a society/community is and how persons and societies/communities are linked through communication (Carbaugh, 1996).

In this approach to becoming aware of "self "and "other" as cultural beings, the teacher can help students explain to each other why they talk and act as they do, and, at the same time, improve his/her intercultural communication competence. Intercultural communication competence is not based on cultural knowledge and ability to predict behavior. It is grounded in the ability to recognize the cultural and intercultural quality of actual discourse between interlocutors (Collier and Thomas, 1988). By listening to taped conversations that they have participated in and by keeping a written record of classroom activities and their own responses to a variety of critical incidents, students create building blocks for crafting descriptive cases of competent and incompetent communication. The teacher can use these descriptions to improve teaching and to do research on different aspects of cultural identity and intercultural communication.

A teacher can benefit from this learning environment as a co-contributor and co-learner if s/he plays the role of a participant-observer who participates as little as possible and observes a much as possible. The section below introduces two metaphors that are useful when attempting to cope with intercultural communication challenges and two examples of student learning that have contributed to my development as a teacher and researcher.

2.1 Metaphors

The fingers and palm of the hand:
The palm of the hand is the culture that enables the fingers (individuals) to act in a meaningful way. The fingers can represent individuals who differ from each other and situations that differ from each other. We can always say: "it depends on the person and on the situation." Cultural models of individual and social identity and models of acceptable ways to communicate do not deny that we are all individuals who act and talk differently in different situations. In the end, we always communicate with other individuals (fingers) but we cannot understand the deeper meaning of what other people say and do unless we understand the relationship between the individuals (fingers) and their culture (the palm of the hand). A focus on discovery of self and other as cultural beings shifts attention away from the visible movement of the fingers towards the system of meaning in the hand as a whole. Individuals from different cultures can share much for specific reasons in specific situations even if there is not very much overlap between their cultures. Cultures also overlap to different degrees. Different degrees of overlap of fingers and palms of hands bring us to the metaphor of skating on thick and thin ice.

Skating on thick and thin ice:
In the north where the winters are cold we can also refer to skating on thick and thin ice (Berry, 1992). People communicate within their own speech communities with shared codes. If interlocutors are from similar cultures they might share some codes. As long as people are communicating with shared codes, communication is similar to skating on thick ice. Everything tends to move along smoothly. Interlocutors might not always agree with each other but they know what the other person means. The more one skates on thick ice, the more difficult it is to remember that thick ice can become rather thin under different conditions.

Intercultural communication competence is more than the ability to skate with others on thick ice. It also includes the ability to recognize where the thick ice ends and the thin ice begins. Perhaps an even more important characteristic of intercultural communication competence is the ability to get back onto the thick ice once one realizes that the ice is very thin or someone has actually gone through the ice.

The role of culture in a society is to answer questions even before they are raised (Akoun, 1989). We need to learn to ask questions about our own culture as we ask questions about other cultures. The multicultural classroom provides an ideal environment for learning to ask and in some cases answer these questions. The best that the teacher can offer students is an approach and insights learned from observing and participating in previous intercultural classroom activities. The best the students can offer fellow students and the teacher is their reflections on their situated intercultural experiences.

2.2 Examples of Student Speech and Student Learning

Two examples are presented below to illustrate speech and insights produced by students that have contributed to development of my teaching and to my research on intercultural communication. The first example is from a course on Advanced Intercultural Communication at the University of Jyväskylä. The second example is from Finnish and Austrian students in Austria.

An English Student in Finland

At the beginning of a course I often ask students to list the first five thoughts that pop up when they think of their own country. When an English student mentioned tea, I asked why. He responded that England has the best tea in the world. His explanation brought a ripple of laughter from fellow students representing about ten different nationalities. After the class two Chinese students came up and complained about how the English seem to think that tea is only grown and consumed in England. I have to admit that I also had my doubts about this particular English exchange student but kept them to myself. During the course this student continued to be average in his observations and comments but his final analysis of previous reflections during the course provided me with a wonderful learning experience. Here, I will only quote his comments on "tea":

"Tea is a stereotypical term that is reached for whenever Englishness raises its head. Tea does in fact seem like quite an absurd matter to discuss in a paper, but when considering my own role as a cultural individual, then tea plays a part that needs to be addressed and understood as a symbol of Englishness. The subject of Tea I see as being tied into ideas (and the nature) of the family and its meaning within the idea of community. Interpretation of my own experience has witnessed "tea" as providing a space in which to discuss matters, a space to break-up (but not to conclude) an argument, a space in which to socialize and continue on from there. In English, even in a student environment, I have found myself being considered "impolite" for not offering a visitor a drink, "or a cup of tea?" as soon as they walked through the door!!

The process of drinking tea is a mechanical one, but the social meaning of "drinking tea" is significantly active. The term "Tea" in English culture signifies many different spaces - social, conversation, or of rest - that can be considered quite important within many groups, but especially, I believe, within a family, as these spaces are very often most needed within the life of a family group. This idea I am looking to develop in order to assess the role of the individual within the "family", searching for ways in which the individual is drawn into the family "space" for the importance of the group itself; the individual does have a social commitment to the family, a commitment that may clash with one's own individual ties to life. The individual possesses a degree of responsibility to the family. In past times, the family was a very strong and close knit part of social life, one's family name labeled oneself as being either rich, poor, trouble or "weird":

responsibility to the family group was paramount to avoid shame being brought on to the family by others being able to slander the "name", the phrase "don't go bringing a bad name on this family" is a sign of the importance of social status within the larger society and also the importance that is attributed to the "family" as a group.

In many ways I am able to see that my culture does have a certain web of significance, a way in which "we", as cultural beings, interact with one another on varying levels of awareness. This is considerably different way of thinking than I had, say, a year ago, and I can see a particularly important step in coming to understand "others" and intercultural communication through first gaining a firm grounding in understanding oneself and one's own culture.

This excerpt suggests that the student had moved from "tea" to life in the family and in the community. Similar movements from an "absurd matter" like tea to an understanding of the deeper socio-cultural meaning of such matters were described throughout his final essay for the course. I don't know if other members of the class were able to benefit from the discoveries that this student had made and revealed in his final essay but I often use this passage in other courses to illustrate how students might make sense of the five points that popped into their minds when thinking about their own country.

Finnish and Austrian Students

The second example of reflection is based on a course about cultural aspects of international management that I have taught in Finland and in Austria. Diary entries by Finnish and Austrian students based on their group discussion about leadership styles and relationships between a manager and a subordinate provide insights into cultural concepts of autonomy, responsibility and equality and models of communication between persons.

Austrian student:

> "(In our group) we moved on to the ideal relationship between a boss and subordinate. In Finland the boss and subordinate are more equal than in Austria. There are also different assumptions about a "good boss". A "good" Austrian boss has to talk a lot and has to listen a lot in order to show interest in his subordinates. This is not so important for Finns. They would even consider the manager's questions annoying and interference. They want their boss to give them autonomy and let them do their things in their own ways. The reason why Finns prefer autonomy and Austrians communication might be that Austrians are not keen on taking responsibility. They like to have autonomy and responsibility to a certain extent but they hate being totally responsible. Austrians do not like doing something completely on their own. Thus, they want their boss to be friendly, helpful and open to their problems.... In Austria, a"good" Finnish boss would be considered impolite and unfriendly. If he does not communicate a lot with his subordinates they will think that he does not care about them and that he is not helpful."

Finnish student:

> "Today our group found out, actually for the first time, some real and important cultural differences between the Austrians and the Finns, and we discussed these things thoroughly. ... In my opinion superior-subordinate relationships are defined as impersonal and rational. The Austrians claimed that these relationships are personal and that they imply general superiority of one person over another. The Austrians wondered how the superior-subordinate relationship can be impersonal in Finland: Don't you talk to each other at all or go for a beer after the work"...

In superior-subordinate relationships the Austrians expect a clear social hierarchy to exist whereas the Finns think that there should only be an instrumental hierarchy in those relationships. The difference between the Finns and the Austrians in the leadership exercise was that the Austrians were more likely to expect that their boss should know everything and have the solution to every problem that could exist. From the Finnish point of view a boss doesn't have to be able to answer all

the questions...[but] there has be a boss in order for everything to function properly.... Autonomy means equality and respect for the Finns while the Austrians understand by autonomy, hierarchy and respect.... [For Austrians] politeness is a way to show respect for another person. Politeness is also a good way to avoid conflicts. The Finns want to avoid conflict as much as the Austrians do but in Finland the best way to avoid them is being quiet. The Austrian politeness is an instrument that helps you get things done when the hierarchy exists. In Finland the things get done in equality and there's no need for "flattery"; you only have to act in a proper way (olla asiallinen).

As I listen to exchanges between Finnish and Austrian students and read diary entries with insights like those above, I gained a better understanding of the cultural coding of autonomy, responsibility, equality and social hierarchy as well as insights into different ways of communicating in two cultural landscapes. These insights have evolved from a cyclical approach to observation (Carbaugh and Hastings, 1992) that I have discussed elsewhere (Berry, in press a). An ethnographic approach to cultural communication (Philipsen, 1992; Carbaugh, 1996) has been especially fruitful in Austria. Efforts to maximize the learning and research potential of the multicultural classroom has led to five cooperative research projects with Austrian researchers. Each of these projects should contribute to improvement of "teaching" intercultural communication and cultural aspects of international management and to a better understanding of cultural differences between Austrian, Finnish and American students as well as Austrian, Finnish and American managers.

2.3 Conclusions

From the perspective of student learning, it does not matter if the speech and writings of each student reveal only partial understanding of his/her own culture and of another culture. What matters is that a process of discovery has started, that the process combines spontaneity and systematic reflection and that the process is likely to continue after course is over. The teacher-lear.er-researcher can benefit from the intercultural communication in the classroom, from the analysis that students write in their diary entries and their final essays and from detecting patterns in the cultural models of speaking and acting. The more the teacher can harvest from each course, the more s/he has to nourish students in the next course and the more s/he can contribute to scholarship as a researcher.

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Appendix: Example of introduction to the first class meeting

Intercultural Communication, Autumn term 1997

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Introduction to the learning approach in the course

In vain I tried to tell you
Dell Hymes

What is known least well, and is therefore in the poorest position to be studied, is what is closest to oneself
Edward Hall

Believing...that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.
Clifford Geertz

Thoughtful reflection is a fundamental objective of learning. Thoughtful reflection about that which is closest to oneself should therefore be given priority in our pedagogical agendas. Otherwise, we will fail to come to grips with the interwoven messages from the quotes above. We live and communicate within the webs of our culture even through we are often unaware of those webs, and when we attempt to communicate our most fundamental values to people caught up in their own webs of meaning, we often try in vain. This breakdown in communication is often attributed to our ignorance of the "other." We assume that we usually speak and listen via universal codes that communicate universal values but in most cases we speak and listen culturally using codes that are understood only within our own speech community.

If we don't understand the deeper meaning of the ways we act and talk in our own culture, we will have great difficulties understanding the deeper meaning of the ways people act and talk in other cultures. One assumption in this course is that we can understand a culture by acting as ethnographers who observe and listen to how people talk about decisions they can or have to make. When we talk (or choose not to talk) we reveal something about our views on proper and improper conduct and on the proper and improper organization of social relationships. If we learn to listen carefully we will detect patterns in the practices of people in our own culture and in another culture. The patterns among individuals from a culture tell us something about the culture they belong to. One of our tasks is to observe and write about typical communication in typical situations. Eventually we, as a group, will have a collection of stories that reveal patterns in Finnish cultural communication and in the communication of other cultural groups. Developing strategies for discovering these patterns helps us to improve our intercultural communication competence irregardless of the cultures we encounter.

In intercultural situations we act on our knowledge about other cultures ("cultural knowledge") but we also take our own cultural values ("cultural gut") with us wherever we go. Cultural knowledge helps us to communicate with people from other cultures and to steer our way through new cultural environments, but cultural knowledge can also be misleading. It is easier to know what we know than to know what we don't know. Moreover, our cultural gut is subconscious and we are often unaware of the ways our own cultural values influence our interpretation of other cultures.

Knowledge about other cultures is easy to accept if there is overlap between our cultural values and newly acquired knowledge. In other words, our cultural gut can be compared to a gas pedal that speeds up our willingness and ability to act according to newly acquired cultural knowledge. If, however, there is a basic conflict between our cultural values and explanations about another culture, our cultural gut can also function as a break on acceptance of that knowledge.

As you are exposed to critical incidents during the course, listen to the ways you and others speak about the different incidents: to what extent is your speech based on your "knowledge" about how to act in a particular culture and/or based on your "feelings" about the social situation or issue? In some cases you will assume that your response is personal and has nothing to do with your culture. In other cases you will notice similarities in the responses of persons from the same culture. Try to listen for and keep a diary about patterns in the ways you and other members of the class respond to different critical situations. This approach to talking to each other *and* to thinking on paper will help you to write a meaningful essay at the end of the course.

As you listen to the views of persons from different cultures during the course think about where you and others are on the following continuum:

1. ***I don't hear*** (At first I didn't realize that a point was being made. Now, on reflection, I realize that I am at # ? below)
2. ***I hear and would like to understand*** (but I don't understand because it doesn't make any sense to me)
   2a. I hear and I sort of understand (even if it doesn't make much sense)
3. ***I hear but I refuse to*** understand or I will not allow myself to understand (because that way of thinking, talking or acting is very unacceptable)
   3a. I hear and I sort of understand (even if I don't like it)
4. ***I hear and I understand*** (even if I find this rather odd or unacceptable)
   4a. I hear, I understand, and I sort of accept
5. ***I hear, I understand, and I*** accept (even if I find this rather odd or unacceptable)
6. ***I hear, I understand, I accept and I can*** explain (in positive terms from the perspective of the other culture)
7. ***I hear, I understand, I accept, I can explain and I can*** perform (act or talk so that I can communicate the same meaning as persons in the other culture).

You can be at different points on this continuum for different aspects of the same culture. Perhaps none of these options adequately describes your position on a continuum that goes from "I didn't hear" to "I can act as they act". In that case modify one of the statements above. This continuum can also be useful to compare yourself as an individual or as a member of a subculture with other people in your own society. You might be different on the surface but similar deep down or you might be similar on the surface but different deep down. The same combinations are also possible in intercultural relationships.

Cultural knowledge can play an important role in intercultural communication but it is not very helpful in intercultural situations unless we are aware of the extent to which our cultural gut is acting as a gas pedal or a break in those situations. We will notice during the course that the more knowledge we have about the (positive) reasons for a practice in another culture the more we tend to move on the continuum towards point 7, and we move even further when our cultural gut reinforces acceptance of cultural knowledge. However, if our cultural gut says NO! to a foreign

cultural practice (even if we hear many explanations about the reasons for the practice), additional cultural knowledge will not move us very far on the continuum.

In short, our ability to understand and to communicate interculturally depends to a large extent on our awareness of the relationship between our cultural gut and our cultural knowledge. Therefore, it is natural to misunderstand and/or to be annoyed in intercultural situations. However, if we are aware of the system of meaning in the way we communicate in our own culture, we can also begin to discover the system of meaning in another culture. The role of culture in a society is to answer questions even before they are raised. We need to learn how to ask questions about our own culture before we can ask the right questions about other cultures.

This is not a course about right or wrong ways to communicate interculturally, and it is not a course with right and wrong answers. It is a course in which we help each other understand better the deeper meaning in the ways we communicate within our own culture in order to improve our ability to communicate in intercultural situations.

Task for the second session

Please describe an intercultural experience you have had. If you have not had one, interview an exchange student or another member of the class and describe an experience that they have had. This experience should be one in which you or the person you interviewed noticed something different. At that point in time (or often later) you or the person you interviewed realized that there was something quite different about the ways people communicate or organize social relationships in the other culture. Your description should include:

- who was involved and who was aware of the incident/situation/misunderstanding-/problem/conflict;
- the place where the incident took place (e.g., an office, a student meeting, a dormitory);
- what happened (what was said/done by the participants in the social interaction and what were their responses);
- how participants interpreted what was said and done;
- the larger context for the misunderstanding, if known;
- the outcome of the social exchange: were you satisfied: why/why not?
- the advice you would give to a person involved in a similar situation?

Your descriptions will form the point of departure for class discussion next week.

3. COLLABORATIVE LEARNING IN HEALTH CARE TEACHER TRAINING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FINNISH AND BRITISH STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES

Kerttu Tossavainen, Stephan Tawse, Hannele Turunen, Ulla Voutilainen & Juha Perttula

3.1 Introduction

Today, work of on collaborative comes from a broad array of disciplines and educational philosophies. It is discussed sometimes as a process that aims to help learning and sometimes as a pedagogical tool that "works" in teaching situation. Most of the collaborative learning branches are deeply rooted in experiential learning, student-centred teaching and cognitive psychology (eg John Dewey, Jean Piaget and Leontjev Vygotsky) and also in social psychology, particularly in the nature and power of small group theory (eg. Damon & Phelps 1989, Webb 1989, Johnson & Johnson 1991).

Collaborative learning procedures are designed to engage students actively in the learning process through inquiry and discussion with their peers in small groups. The group work is carefully organized and structured so as to promote the participation and learning of all group members in a collaboratively shared undertaking. Collaborative learning is more than just "tossing" students into a group and telling them to talk together (Johnson & Johnson 1991, Davidson & Worsham 1992). It is an instructional approach that integrates social skills objectives with academic content objectives in education. Socially meaningful activity serves as the generator of consciousness.

The focus of this article is on nurse teacher trainees´ experiences of the collaborative learning process during their teaching practice within theoretical and clinical settings. The research study was carried out in two different cultural higher education contexts: at Finnish and British universities. Phenomenological, interactive and "practice"-centred approaches have developed our understanding of collaborative working during the last five years.

The students encounter a practical social situation in planning their teaching practice. The purpose of the training is to emphasize both independent and critical thinking and to promote a tendency to seek and experiment with new ideas. Scientific thinking and creativity, however, do not arise spontaneously. More attention must be paid to learning situations and context, and to performing qualitative learning processes. Therefore, the collaborative learning method, in the nature of project work, has been applied to improve profound thinking and the professional ability of nurse teacher trainees both in Finnish and British health care teacher education.

3.2 Basic Elements of Collaborative Learning in Nurse Teacher Education

At the heart of collaboration is a group processing of the information to be studied and an exchange of the thinking involved in the cognitive processing. Collaboration can find philosophical confirmation in social constructionism (eg Rorty 1979, Geertz 1983). It tends to assume that knowledge is socially, rather than individually constructed by communities of individuals. All knowledge, including scientific knowledge, is intrinsically the common property of a group or else nothing at all (Bruffee 1986).

There are three main classes of approach which seem to be adopted widely in the literature to describe peer-based instruction (eg Damon & Phelps 1989, Webb 1989, Johnson & Johnson 1991). In particular, they differ in the ways that they arrange and encourage student interaction and in the compositions of their learning groups. In this study, the chief focus was on applying the project-centred approach to peer collaborative learning. A peer collaborative process is a discussion in which learners cooperate in identifying and exploring the nature and perceived adequacy of each others' perceptions, opinions and beliefs in a given area of study. The purpose is not to seek a group consensus about "truth", but to help each other to identify and examine the base of their understanding and the possibilities of alternative views (McKinley 1983).

Reflection is widely recognized as a crucial element in the professional education and growth of a teacher. Terms such as "reflective teaching and learning", "inquiry-oriented teacher education", "teacher as researcher" and "reflective practitioner" have become very common. Some of the more common orientations include the technological, practical/problematic, personal and critical/emancipatory interest (eg van Manen 1977, Weiss & Louden 1989, Mezirow 1990, Knowles 1993, Valli 1993). Common to these orientations, as Canning (1990) points out, is that reflection is an intrapersonal process through which personal and professional knowing can occur. Reflection is seen as a process and method of informing practice with reason (Schön 1988). It is not static: implicit in its meaning is action (Schön 1983).

It is quite widely recognized that above ideas are not separated from experience, learning is not unrelated to relationships and personal interests, and emotions and feelings have a vital role to play in intellectual collaborative learning (Boud et al 1993, Boud & Walker 1993). But emotions and feelings are the elements which are most neglected, particularly at higher levels. Past experiences which had positive or negative effects can stimulate or suppress new learning and the present context acts to reinforce or counterbalance this.

The teacher trainee needs appropriate support, trust and challenge from other students. However, the way in which she interprets experience is closely connected with how she views herself. Developing confidence and building self-esteem are both necessary for learning from experience. For the group's teacher, designing collaborative experiences requires careful thought about what active learning might entail in one's course. MacGregor (1987, 1990) requires a complete reconstruction of students' and teachers' curricular lives around integrated and interdisciplinary programmes, usually involving both team teaching and collaborative discussion.

On the other hand, Bruffee (1985) has presented successful collaborative group work in disciplinary contexts enabling students to work on their writing - and on their thinking - out loud, with each other. This has led to a rich peer-writing approach. Brookfield (1990) also describes the use of critical

incidents as a way in which teachers are able to discover their students' views and encourage them to move outside comfortable paradigms. Critical incident strategy also has potential in other aspects of personal and professional growth and in the exploration of the dynamic interface between theory and practice (Smith & Russel 1991, 1993, Woods 1993).

Through collaborative learning, the group's teachers hope to raise their health care students' level of social maturity as exercised in their intellectual lives. They try to prepare their students for the "real world" (Bruffee 1987). Autonomous or self-directed learning is a process in which the students work on a learning task. It is largely independent of the teacher who acts as manager, facilitator or synthesizer of the learning programme and as resource person (Higgs 1988).

In effective collaboration the students are able to process their intellectual conflicts. Students might be interpreting, questioning, creating, synthesizing, inventing, doubting, comparing, making connections, puzzling, or doing myriad other sorts of active, visible intellectual tasks (MacGregor 1990). While having experiences together they feel accepted as worthy persons after taking risks and disagreement in the group. To retain interest and develop students' critical thinking abilities to the fullest, the environment must be highly interactive. Students must realistically engage subject matter and knowledge, and actively practice the art of critical thinking (Meyers 1986). Critical reflective practice, integrated theory and practice, thought and action, is, as Schön (1987) describes, "a dialogue of thinking and doing through which I become more skilful". This is a powerful approach to professional development as a health care teacher (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Conceptual and contents model of collaborative learning process

3.3 Aims of the Research Study

The aims were formed broadly in relation to the phenomenological research. They were as follows:

1. To describe the experiences of British and Finnish Health Care Teacher trainees who, as part of their training, are involved in collaborative learning episodes;
2. To analyze the commonalities and significant differences that may emerge from their descriptions.

3.4 Methodology

The purpose of phenomenology is to describe the lived experience of people; in this research, the collaborative learning process of health care teacher trainees. According to Van Manen (1990, 9), phenomenology...

> "aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences. Phenomenology asks: "What is this kind of experience like?". It differs from almost every other science in that it attempts to gain insightful descriptions of the way we experience the world prereflectively, without taxonomising, classifying or abstracting it. So phenomenology does not offer us the possibility of effective theory with which we can explain and/or control the world, but rather it offers us the possibility of plausible insights that brings us in more direct contact with the world."

The researchers in this study were also engaging with the perceptions of those who have lived the experience of being part of the collaborative learning group. Thus, we can hope to arrive at a true understanding of what collaborative learning is and how collaborative learning works.

3.4.1 The Data and its Collection

The documentation of the experience should be done in such a way that it is true to the lives of the people described (Morse 1991). Phenomenological research is an "action-sensitive-understanding" methodology which finds its beginning and end in the practical acting of everyday life and leads to a practical knowledge of thoughtful action (Bergum 1989). In this study the documents used were the written narratives of Finnish (n=10) and the British (n=8) health care teacher trainees about their experiences of collaborative work during their training.

In adopting a phenomenological approach and involving groups of similar students who had experienced the collaborative process in different contextual settings, it was hoped that the perceptual insights which emerged from the students' narratives would offer the researchers potentially greater explanatory insights into collaborative learning.

3.4.2 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed by one researcher using Giorgi's (1985, 1992) descriptive phenomenological method, which has also been applied by Perttula (1995). Description in analysis means that the researcher has to search for essences within the data. The data analysis consists of five consecutive steps. On the last step the researcher now moves from the individual meaning-nets to a general meaning-net incorporating all the research subjects. The general meaning-net includes the essential

content of the phenomena being investigated that came out of the individual meaning-nets of every research subject.

3.5 Results

The individual meaning-nets were an important part of the results in our study. But here we shall describe only the summarized results of the second stage.

In this stage of the research the individual meaning-nets were brought together (Table 1). The aim was to outline the general meaning-net types arising from the individual meaning-nets. It was very difficult to "force" all the individual meaning-nets into one general meaning-net, because the research itself was directed at outlining the possible differences between the experiences of the Finnish and British health care teacher trainees of the collaborative learning process. The aim was to gain conceptually more than general knowledge concerning a single person, and also to find possible types of the individual meaning-nets (cf. Perttula 1995). They were the summarized empirical results of this research. First, the general meaning-net types of the Finnish health care teacher trainees are described and then those of the British students (Table 1).

3.5.1 The General Meaning-net Types of the Finnish Health Care Teacher Trainees

TYPE I: THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THE COLLABORATIVE LEARNING GROUP

1. The internal functioning of the group
Two clear phases are discernible in the collaborative learning process. At the start of the period of study the students work out their mutual aims, agree on common ways of working and a division of labour. Equality exists in the group and everybody respects the difference of each student with her own learning goals. Certain kinds of group decisions clarify the direction and purpose of cooperation in the planning phase. If necessary, the aims can be changed flexibly. At the same time, the students learn to endure continuous change in preparing for their future work as teachers. Gradually a creative, supportive, permissive and responsible atmosphere develops in the group. Confidentiality and the group's sense of identity allow the students to examine new ways of working from many different viewpoints. The students do not try to reach a consensus on "the one and only truth". Different ideas are not mutually exclusive but complementary. The students help one another to recognize and examine the nature and principles of understanding and the possibility of alternative viewpoints. The interactive processes among the students are important and the collaborative process helps the students to express and solve any problems.

2. The group's activity is not confined by time or place
Because of practical difficulties (long journeys, distances between places of residence, lack of a timetable), the students are willing to work together eg in the evenings at one another's home, during common study trips and by telephone. Owing to practical difficulties in their studies, numerous mutual helping roles develop within the group as a result of discussion and close social interaction. The group bond is close. Through intellectual and emotional activity the group becomes closer and develops. Humour and laughter free the students from anxiety and tiredness. The division of tasks and decision-making are provisional and means until discussion becomes problem-centred, questioning and critical. The students' motivation to learn is also performance-centred before the group learns to apply concretely the collaborative learning and teaching method. The realize the significance that interactive training has for life in general.

TYPE II: UTILIZING THE KNOW-HOW OF THE GROUP MEMBERS

The members' previous experiences and know-how in everyday life and nursing are utilized widely in the collaborative learning of the group. Each student's internal caring and educational thinking models develop with the support of the group members, who have different experiences, interests and personalities.

TYPE III: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INEXPERIENCED TEACHER TRAINEE

A student without teaching experience begins to develop in her role of novice teacher with the support of those who do have teaching experience. The inexperienced student experiments with different learning and teaching methods in safe, concrete collaborative teaching situations. She observes the other students in teaching situations and learns to "mirror" things from the "inside" onto her own actions. Collaboration lessens the fear of appearing in public. More experienced fellow students guide her in understanding a teacher's work as a whole and in its everyday nature. The learning and development process of an inexperienced teacher trainee cannot be speeded up with the help of more experienced students, since a necessary developmental and cognitive stage could be passed over or fail to be experienced by the student. On the other hand, more experienced students may feel that their learning process is advancing slowly in a heterogeneous group of students.

TYPE IV: THE IMPORTANCE OF FEEDBACK AND REFLECTION

The collaborative learning process provides practical opportunities for feedback and group and individual reflection. The students develop their social, cognitive and intellectual skills in the reflection situations. Group discussions and comparisons of the members' different learning experiences help the students to recognize possible alternative solutions and constructive proposals for change. Especially through positive feedback the student develops greater professional self-awareness.

A critical group does not accept things as "given": the students have to explain how the conclusion has been reached and the significance of the result. Command of the subject to be taught does not yet ensure a skilful performance by the student in a teaching situation. The learning process begins when different ideas and alternatives threaten the prevailing knowledge, beliefs, perceptions or values. The students feel the need to resolve their internal conflicts or external threats. The difficulties and their open processing increase the students' mutual dependence and feeling of togetherness.

The students' previous experiences of nursing and teaching and their understanding of their own interactive skills and problem-solving abilities are the basis of their professional development as teachers. The processing of common solutions and of knowledge is significant in the development of self-esteem and self-knowledge, although it is not always perceived clearly as a factor in development.

A student's previously sceptical and critical attitude towards collaborative work becomes positive owing to the successful collaborative experience. Likewise, the student gains a greater belief in her own skills as a teacher and human being.

TYPE V: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TUTORS

The organizing of effective collaborative learning demands of the tutors much more than simply "throwing the students together" with minimal guidance and preparation for collaboration. Before the beginning of the collaborative learning process, the students need theoretical and practical preparation for collaborative work. Also the actual teaching content, the science of nursing, is required as the basis of both the teaching sessions and the discussions and reflection. The tutors also commit themselves to the social network as part of the collaborative learning group. The tutor acts as a good "tutor model"

for the collaborative group. Decision-making in and control of the learning environment gradually pass to the group leaving room for independent action by the group, while the tutor's role is to be supportive, trustworthy and "available" in the background. This is more meaningful than formal meetings, artificial student-centred teaching methods or precise written teaching plans.

TYPE VI: COLLABORATION USELESS AND INAPPROPRIATE

Numerous practical organizational problems make it difficult to apply collaborative learning in university studies. The problems include a too tight timetable in teaching practice, long distances between places of residence, some of the students also working besides studying, lack of motivation and a task-centred performance orientation in studying.

On the other hand, the student may be externally directed in her own learning and expects clear instructions. She wants to learn in practical teaching situations by following the model of a qualified teacher. The student adopts a passive attitude to learning and expects the teacher to "teach" her into a qualified teacher. The student is not flexible in arranging common group meetings and finds no meaning in collaborative learning in university studies. Group work is merely the sharing of tasks and dealing with concrete matters.

3.5.2 The General Meaning-net Types of the British Health Care Teacher Trainees

TYPE I: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLABORATIVE LEARNING GROUP

1. Emphasis on group dynamics

At the start of the collaborative learning process the students try to find their own roles in the group, but otherwise the group's attitude to the subject being studied is external, following set tasks. The group is active and plenty of new ideas are produced, it lacks a common aim and is ineffective. The situation is confused and causes feelings of anxiety; owing to good interactive relationships, the group begins to rebel against the set task. The students are doubtful about the whole purpose and meaning of the teaching sessions and studies. There is a fundamental change when the group itself assumes responsibility and agrees on a common operating and teaching philosophy. Ideas are discussed, even argued about, and after negotiation common aims are agreed on. The initial emphasis on problems is replaced by dependence and trust among the group members and everyone commits herself responsibly to collaboration. Intense group dynamics develop and the group acts independently and productively in accordance with the mutually agreed aims. All the students participate in the group activity according to their knowledge and expertise. A supportive atmosphere and a feeling of togetherness prevail in the group and the contribution of all the members is valued (Table 1).

2. The maintenance of student independence

At the beginning of the collaborative learning process the students learn a great deal about one another as human beings and their ways of working, as they have the chance to spend time together in an unofficial learning setting outside the university. The group members identify their own roles in the group, whether they are liked and accepted. At the same time, the students become familiar with collaboration as guided by theories of learning and models.

Respect and consideration for the student's need for independence promote the student's development as a human being and teacher. The student herself must feel that her own learning is meaningful and important in accordance with her own goals despite the setting of the group's common aims. Otherwise, the student's motivation to learn may weaken and she will adopt a passive role in the group. It is essential to recognize anxiety and talk about it openly in the group. Everyone has

"permission" to confess uncertainty, fears and anxiety when she openly dares to listen to the similar feelings of her fellow students.

Taking the group dynamics too far at the expense of the needs and well-being of the individuals causes conflicts in the group, but they are dealt with openly. Each student's own activity in the group has an effect on the student's personal development as a teacher and an individual. Especially in small groups the student has an independent role and she has the chance to feel free and to influence the group interaction. An effective performance in bigger groups requires the student to have versatile interactive skills and to be capable of a critical examination of her own performance.

TYPE II: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

The social significance of collaborative learning is emphasized in a strange teaching and learning environment. The feeling of "isolation" alone is stressful for an inexperienced teacher trainee and causes insecurity. An unfamiliar target group to be taught and a strange subject add to the feeling of fear. The support given by fellow students is extremely important in coping with negative and unsuccessful classroom situations. The group is united by the idea of "survival" because of similar experiences. A fellow student's feeling of worthlessness is alleviated by the understanding attitude of the other students. The others' support may build or demolish a learning experience. The fellow students assume responsibility for failures thus easing the pressures on an individual student. The sharing of difficulties furthers each student's own development, too, and teaches her to recognize that an individual teacher is partly responsible for the actions of the whole work community.

TYPE III: COLLABORATION IN THE TEACHER'S FUTURE WORK

As a result of the collaborative learning process, the students begin to turn their thoughts to "real reflection on reality". The students value collaboration. As a result their own positive experiences, they intend to experiment with collaboration in the future in their work as teachers. They understand how groups can work responsibly and dynamically with a set task. In the final stage of teaching practice, the student clearly recognizes her own development as a collaborative teacher. The realization dawns that a teacher cannot work isolated from others. The collaborative learning experience leads to the belief that everyone can contribute significantly to a mutual collegial culture.

TYPE IV: THE IMPORTANCE OF FEEDBACK AND REFLECTION

Reflecting on learning situations, ideas, knowledge and experiences in a safe and supportive atmosphere is a reward for learning. Self-confidence and self-knowledge and a sureness about one's own performance develop in close, sometimes also stressful working situations with fellow students. Giving and receiving positive, critical feedback is important for continuous personal development and endurance as a teacher.

TYPE V: THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TUTORS

The tutor who guides a collaborative group requires sensitivity to recognize the processes and developmental stages happening in the group. The tutor provides the frame for social collaborative work in order that the students understand the order, meaning and immediate aims of their actions. The practical teaching sessions gradually become realistic and constitute a positive element in the students' learning process.

The students expect from the tutor genuine interest, support and openness in handling the group processes. Anxiety and initial confusion are reduced by the group discussion with the tutor. The tutor allows room for the group to develop independently and set goals and also to endure uncertainty. She does not try too much to direct or speed up the group process, because that could easily cause

conflicts. The tutor acts as a mediator in group conflicts but lets the group itself find the solutions. The need for guidance in emphasized in a strange teaching and learning environment leading to a re-evaluation of the situations.

FINNISH STUDENTS	*BRITISH STUDENTS*
1. THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS OF THE COLLABORATIVE LEARNING GROUP	**1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLABORATIVE LEARNING GROUP**
1.1 The internal functioning of the group	**1.1 Emphasis on group dynamics**
1.2 The group´s activity is not confined by time or place	**1.2 The maintenance of student independence**
2. UTILIZING THE KNOW-HOW OF THE GROUP MEMBERS	**2. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT**
3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN INEXPERIENCED TEACHER TRAINEE	**3. COLLABORATION IN THE TEACHER´S FUTURE WORK**
4. THE IMPORTANCE OF FEEDBACK AND REFLECTION	**4. THE IMPORTANCE OF FEEDBACK AND REFLECTION**
5. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TUTORS	**5. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TUTORS**
6. COLLABORATION USELESS AND INAPPROPRIATE	

Table 1. The general meaning-net of collaborative learning types

3.6 Discussion

Learning has been considered as an individual phenomenon in the nurse teacher's education, at least in Finnish academic education, whereas the practice of the occupation always assumes communication and group-work skills. In addition to these skills, education should guide students to intensive, deep learning, when knowledge has been understood and is to be applied in professional work. Collaboration, mutual respect, collegiality, critical thinking and problem solving should be essential goals of all nurse teachers.

In our study of Finnish and British nurse teacher trainees' experiences of collaborative learning, the research results showed that both student groups had experienced and recognized features of the collaborative group that they considered to have had meaning both in the individual and the collaborative processes. We described the Finnish students' experiences by six types of general structures and the British students's experiences by five types of the general structures. According to the results, the students in both countries had the following similar meanings: 1) overall, collaboration was experienced as a positive way to develop one's own learning; 2) the importance of the learning group, feedback, reflection and the tutor was emphasized; 3) consciousness of the importance of

collaborative learning for the student's professional self-awareness was clarified. Also different meanings were found: 1) the Finnish students experienced the expertise and the previous professional experience of the group's members as a strength and the inexperienced students benefited from the group's knowledge; 2) the Finnish students were goal-oriented and performance-conscious in their learning; 3) the British students experienced the learning environment and the group as important, especially in difficult and unfamiliar learning and teaching situations. In the group, individuality was permitted and time was given for learning situations. The students' abilities to apply collaboration and work with their colleagues in the future in the teaching profession were emphasised.

Traditionally, at universities, learning and teaching processes have not been paid any special attention. Academic learning situations do not actually hinder the development of scientific creativity, but neither do they actively lead in that direction. Usually the students cope with the basic learning skills or "scenario-learning", whereas professional teachers' activities assume high standards and creative thinking.

In this research, collaborative working and learning proved to be appropriate in nurse teachers' education. This approach, which expects a lot of conversation, discussion and thinking in developing professional and scientific knowledge, improves the understanding of knowledge. Discussion among students and teachers helps them to understand and accept their views, even different views and intellectual conflicts. It is also important to shape and to express their own thoughts. Students also learn to argue for themselves in the group.

Collaborative learning had left students with a number of positive perceptions regarding this learning method. This may also be considered significant since it may be reasonable to assume that those teacher trainees who had generally positive experiences about the learning method might be more willing to experiment with this experiential learning approach in their future professional teaching careers. In health care education, for example, collaboration may be linked to the concept of change and how the teachers play the role of the change agent.

Also the nature of nurse teachers' work is changing with the new counselling and teaching culture in the higher vocational education. Instead of contact classroom teaching, which has been systematically reduced, there are now more important aspects of the teacher's work: planning of the nursing curriculum, cooperative planning of teaching content and implementation as team-teaching, production of learning materials and high standard independent learning tasks. At the same time, evaluation and formative continuous assessment are emphasized. Thus, a skilful counsellor and facilitator of learning is needed. Hence it follows that mutual respect, critical, reflective thinking and problem-solving skills are necessary in the teachers' collaborative, professional performance.

Many of the assumptions being made about the nature of collaborative teaching practice in relation to change may also be applied to collegiality. Collaboration as a method of preparing future teaching practitioners and the link between this and the collegiality within organisations, the ways in which professionals work together to aid self-development and adaptation, may be considered an important area for exploration. Collaborative learning may be an effective means of enabling individuals to explore and develop their collaborative and collegial skills. It would be interesting to observe later the extent to which the students who are exposed to collaborative methods in their preparation for teaching place value on the method as being one which might influence their future practice.

The phenomenological methodological approach proved to be an appropriate means of enabling students to share many of their experiences about collaboration. The open questionnaire approach that

encouraged students to construct their narratives with regard to the collaborative experience yielded a rich response and from here it was possible to identify the significant experiences of their teaching practice that were affected by the collaborative learning method.

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4. STUDENT MOBILITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A MEANS OF DEVELOPING CROSS-CULTURAL CAPABILITIES

Uwe Zemke

4.1 Student Mobility Programmes

In recent years, student mobility, as exemplified by schemes such as Erasmus, Socrates, Comett, Leonardo da Vinci and Lingua, has been an issue of growing concern in the European Union: it is now, in fact, one of the cornerstones of official European Union educational policy. This policy is geared to promoting crossfrontier and intercultural communication. It is guided by the rationale that if Europe is going to compete economically in the world market it would have to be able to compete educationally, and it would therefore need a mobile, well-educated and flexible workforce (Official Journal of the European Communities, C164/8-23).

Mobility is one of the key concepts of European Union educational policy, referring not only to university students undertaking a period of study in another member state, but also to students gaining practical experience and such activities being fully recognized as an integral part of their academic qualification. Amongst the definitions given for mobile in the Longman Dictionary of the English Language (1985) are "capable of moving... adaptable... versatile". It is this combination of movability, adaptability and versatility which educational policy makers in the European Union are aiming for amongst today's student population.

To produce linguistically able graduates with real cross-cultural understanding is one of the main objectives of the Commission of the European Union. The specific objectives of the Community action programme Socrates, which was set up in January 1995 (at the time Finland joined the European Union) and which runs to December 1999, are, amongst others:

1. to help to improve the quality of education and to develop the European dimension in studies at all levels so as to strengthen the spirit of European citizenship, drawing on the cultural heritage of each Member State;
2. to promote knowledge of the languages of the Community and promote the intercultural dimension of education so that the citizens who live in the Community may take advantage of opportunities arising from the completion of the European Union, leading to greater understanding and interaction;
3. to increase mobility, especially for students in higher education, so that the Community may benefit from graduates who have completed part of their studies in another Member State, and to achieve the goal of at least 10% participation" (Socrates, Official Journal, C164/14).

Most of the European Union action programmes on higher education deal with setting up European university networks. Some like Leonardo da Vinci cover work placements in higher education and industry.

It is this industrial and business aspect which I shall be concentrating on in this Paper. I shall not be discussing European Union student exchange programmes in higher education or issues arising from studying abroad or working abroad as foreign language assistants in schools or colleges. Instead, I shall be focussing on commercial and industrial work placements as integrated and integral parts of university sandwich degree courses as envisaged by the Socrates programme.

I shall be using placements in commerce, industry and education as an example of student mobility to demonstrate students' cultural experience in an international business setting, while stressing the manifold benefits students gain from such activities.

The following observations, findings and recommendations are based on my twenty years as Placement Tutor for students of German at Salford University in the United Kingdom:

- my experience of preparing students for commercial and industrial placements in German-speaking countries;
- my long-standing and close contact with employers in the United Kingdom and on the Continent;
- my knowledge of European business culture, specifically British, German and Swiss;
- and my work for the European Commission on student exchanges and work placements in the European Union (Kloss and Zemke, 1987).

4.2 Pre-placement Training

To derive maximum benefit from their experience in a foreign country, students should be briefed in all aspects relating to placement and undergo some form of cross-cultural training. Leaving aside the purely linguistic and practical considerations, cultural training should be both informative as well as illustrative. Role-playing exercises should be used, real-life situations should be enacted and specific examples of business practice and cultural conventions should be played out: these should be videoed and student performance discussed with feedback provided. In short, simulation should act as substitute for reality.

As preparation for residence abroad and as introduction to foreign business culture and work ethic, cultural training is absolutely essential. It helps to prepare students for the transition from the relatively sheltered academic world to the seemingly hostile business environment. While no amount of training and preparation can cover all aspects or eventualities, it can nevertheless lead to a smoother integration into the foreign workplace and to a greater cultural awareness at the start of the student experience.

In this context it is important that instruction and advice in cross-cultural training be given by colleagues who are familiar with and, ideally, have experience of foreign business culture. Additionally, some form of input from guest speakers and representatives from business organisations would underpin such preparation more effectively by exposing students to the reality of the foreign workplace during the pre-placement phase.

4.3 Types of Placement

Placements arranged through official European Union channels like Leonardo da Vinci do not pay much. For example, the Community financial contribution from the Leonardo da Vinci programme will amount to a maximum of 2.250 ECU for subsistence costs for a placement of five months (Council of the European Union, 94/819/EC: 6/12/94). Placements which I organise are all paid placements; they pay considerably more than the European Union action programmes.

Based on my experience, placements should be for periods of six or twelve months. Companies are generally not interested in offering placements for under six months because of the time and effort expended in induction, training and supervision. Most companies want to benefit from placement students; they want to see a return on their investment. Very few companies take students on placement for philanthropic reasons or because of their commitment to the idea of a united Europe.

The placements I deal with fall into two categories: "in house" or "in the field". Examples of "in house" placements are: secretarial, office, administrative work, translating, working in marketing, sales, import, export, accounting, public relations, customer services or teaching English. Examples of "in the field" placements are: interpreting, work at trade fairs, exhibitions, official ceremonies, social functions and promotion campaigns. Clearly, different students are suitable for different placements. Careful selection is, therefore, essential.

The companies taking students on placement include multinationals and global players, SMEs (small and medium-sized enterprises) and small, often family-run, businesses.

Here is a representative selection of companies in Germany taking Salford Modern Languages students on placement:

> ABB, BAYERISCHE RÜCKVERSICHERUNG, BMW, BRAUEREI BECK, DEUTSCHE BANK, DEUTSCHE POST, DEUTSCHE TELEKOM, ERICSSON, GENERAL ELECTRIC, GHH BORSIG, GUINNESS, KRUPP FÖRDERTECHNIK, MERCEDES-BENZ, MITROPA, NESTLÉ

What is revealing about this list of participating companies is its multinational nature. Five of the fifteen companies quoted are non-German: ABB is Swedish/Swiss; Ericsson is Swedish; General Electric is American; Guinness is Irish; and Nesté is Swiss. What this shows is that business is international and global and that English has become the corporate language in international business.

4.4 Student Suitability for Placement

Not all students are suitable for placement. Academic tutors with little or no knowledge of the business world and the realities of the non-academic workplace often make the wrong assumptions that academic brilliance and scholarship are automatic qualifications for placement. That is not so. Based on my experience of company needs and requirements, students should meet if not all then certainly most of the following criteria (cf. Zemke, 1995).

They should have a knowledge of the relevant language (for the purpose of this study it is German); they should, if they are not native speakers of English, have a good command of English; they should be computer literate; preferably already have some work experience; they should be reliable, motivated and enthusiastic; they should possess minimum social skills; they should be smart in appearance and be prepared to adapt to an appropriate, often formal, dress code; in short, they should be ambassadors not only for the sending university, but also for their country.

4.5 Business Culture and Work Ethic

Business culture has sets of values, rules, both written and unwritten, and codes of behaviour which differ from the academic world.

If students find the transition from school to university hard, the move from university, where students have established a circle of friends and are surrounded by a familiar environment, to the business world in a foreign country can be quite daunting and usually leads to culture shock.

Generally, students have little experience of foreign business culture. For that reason, preparing students for it is so important during their pre-placement period. Furthermore, students often have clichee-ridden and stereotypical pictures of foreigners: of Germans, for example, that they all work hard and have no sense of humour. Actual student experience either confirms or dispels these myths.

Faced with the reality of the foreign workplace, students usually experience culture shock, which manifests itself in a number of ways. What comes as a shock to students is invariably the result of a comparison with their own values, standards, experiences and norms. What they compare subjectively is their familiar culture with the as yet unknown foreign culture. Students' cultural experience in the foreign business context can be charted by these stages of development: from culture shock to cultural awareness leading to cultural transition and culminating in cultural immersion. Ideally, all students should progress to cultural immersion, but not all do. Experience suggests that where related cultures are involved such as British and German or British and Finnish or German and Finnish, the success rate as well as the satisfaction factor are higher than, for example, where British and Italian or German and Spanish or Finnish and Portuguese business cultures are concerned (cf. Hofstede, 1980).

4.6 The Student Experience

On placement, the student experience normally covers the following stages: alienation, adaptation, integration and identification. At first, students feel like strangers; they see themselves as outsiders: they are alienated. Their alienation surfaces in a number of forms: they have language problems; they often feel lonely and homesick, they are frightened of the unknown. They experience problems of adjustment, adaptation and settling in. Although Placement Tutors at their sending universities and industrial supervisors at their receiving enterprises monitor students' progress, the reality of the situation is that students are often left to their own devices and have no proper support system to fall back on in case of need. Once students have begun to adapt to their environment, they settle down and make friends. They improve linguistically and feel more confident. They accept foreign business culture and work ethic: they become integrated.

Whether identification with foreign business culture and work ethic is to be aimed for is open to debate. What students should be able to achieve, however, is an acceptance of different cultural values

alongside their own and not at the expense of their own.. Ideally, students should be both discerning observers as well as involved participants in order to derive maximum benefit from their foreign work experience.

4.7 Cultural Routines

In the following, reference will be made to some culture-specific patterns of behaviour, conversational routines and the negotiation of intercultural norms pointing out differences in cultural behaviour and attitudes between Britain on the one hand and Germany and other European countries on the other.

I should like to group them under five headings:

1. shaking hands, embracing, bowing, kissing;
2. introductions, rules of address, formality versus informality;
3. forms of etiquette, eating and drinking, socialising;
4. bringing flowers or chocolates, importance of birthdays/anniversaries;
5. apologies as expressed by "sorry".

A brief note of explanation to highlight some of the above:

1. students should be made aware of the fact that shaking hands is common practice on the Continent, whereas in Britain it tends to be reserved for specific occasions; conversely, it is not uncommon practice for colleagues to kiss each other on certain social occasions in Britain, whereas that would be regarded as highly unusual in Germany, for example;
2. while it is normal in Britain to use first-name terms in the business world - including in the senior versus junior relationship and vice versa - formal address is the order of the day in most other European countries. While it is still quite normal for someone answering the telephone in British business to say "hallo", someone answering the telephone in Germany will invariably give the name of the company, their department, position and name;
3. under this heading mention should be made of the strict codes of etiquette governing social behaviour in France and Germany, for example, where in formal settings hierarchical rules of who raises their glass and who starts the meal are strictly observed;
4. it is important to bear in mind that birthdays and anniversaries play an important part in Continental business settings: Germans expect to be congratulated officially on important birthdays; taking a bottle of wine to your host in France for a dinner invitation will give the impression that you do not appreciate their wine and can therefore easily give offence; if, for example, one were invited to a business partner's home for dinner in Germany, which would be very unusual, flowers, if taken, should be unwrapped before being handed over and should come in an odd number so that they can be arranged more easily in a vase;
5. this is one of the most marked differences in forms of behaviour between Britain and the Continent and helps to explain why to the British many Continentals appear rude and insensitive. I refer here to the British habit of saying "sorry" at all times and on all occasions even when the person saying it is not at all at fault; on the contrary, it is customary to say "sorry" when being the injured party. The importance of the social use of "sorry" can therefore not be stressed enough. In the same vein, what many Germans and Scandinavians would describe as "direct" and "open" can sound to the British and to the Americans, who are even more polite, as impolite and hostile.

4.8 Cultural Blunders

The examples below illustrate the experience of British students on placement in Germany:

1. a male student kissing a female colleague at work on the occasion of her birthday, causing gasps of surprise;
2. a student sitting down at a formal business lunch and starting to eat and drink before the host has said "Guten Appetit" and raised his/her glass;
3. on being introduced to new colleagues or visitors to the company, students forgetting to shake hands or forgetting to introduce themselves by name;
4. students using the informal form of address instead of the formal not only in dealings with fellow employees, but also with their superiors;
   students being unable to use the telephone correctly and instead of persevering putting the telephone down, pretending that the caller was cut off.I hear with embarrassing regularity from students at their debriefing sessions on return from their foreign work placements that they wished that they had had more practice at answering the telephone before they went abroad, and their actual job descriptions confirm the fact that "Telefondienst" (answering the telephone) forms an important part of their daily work routine; Continental employers, too, stress the importance of some form of training in telephone language, manners and techniques: this is an obvious case of the need for effective simulation practice;
5. students turning up late for work, not regarding punctuality as an important issue;
6. students forgetting to use the correct form of greeting in the morning, at lunch-time, on leaving and at weekends: such ignorance can come across as rude.

While the above examples, demonstrating omissions or flouting of social conventions, are obviously not intentional or in themselves disastrous, they reveal a lack of cultural understanding and insufficient cultural insight occasionally bordering on social inadequacy. Obviously, examples like the above and other similar ones can be humorous and endearing, but they can be avoided by more careful preparation, which would also make the students feel more at ease socially. It is not surprising, therefore, that students' initial period in a foreign business environment is often overshadowed by a sense of social inadequacy.

4.9 Benefits

In brief, the benefits of placements in a foreign country for the students concerned are:

1. After a period of six or twelve months in a foreign country, students obviously improve their language skills and communicative ability;
2. Thus students gain valuable work experience in an international business environment, and
3. students develop professionally: they improve their computing skills; they learn to work in teams or as individuals; they sample a professional environment;
4. The skills they acquire on placement are transferable to other posts and forms of employment in the future;
5. On a personal level, students become more mature, confident and responsible on placement; they also become financially independent;
6. Through contact with business culture, students develop cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity: they improve and refine their interpersonal skills; their increasing maturity is reflected in their more confident social behaviour;

7. Perhaps the most important aspect and tangible reward in a very competitive European labour market are students' enhanced career prospects: there can be no doubt whatsoever that placements make students more employable and give them a competitive edge: employability is today's buzz word and it is what prospective employers are looking for.

4.10 The Finnish Dimension

The previous discussion has centred on the experience of British students on placement in Germany. The comments about Germany also apply to Austria and Switzerland. Turning now to Finland, it is evident from my definition of suitability that Finnish students would, in theory, also fulfil the majority of requirements determining suitability for placement.

From my own experience, there are German companies and foreign firms operating in Germany which regularly take Finnish students on placement. Amongst the companies involved are the Swedish-Swiss electrical and electronic engineering company ABB, the Deutsche Bank, the car manufacturer Mercedes-Benz and the Swiss food manufacturer NestlJ. I am certain there is scope for expansion here, especially as, according to my informants, the feedback from companies about Finnish students on placement is extremely positive: they are reported to be good ambassadors for their country.

Similarly, Finnish companies and organisations operating in the European Union could also usefully employ Finnish students on placement if they do not already do so. Germany and Britain are Finland's most important trading partners in the European Union. These two countries would therefore be obvious targets for placements.

Some of the following Finnish companies with business interests in the United Kingdom and Germany which might be approached are: Finnair, which has offices in England and Germany; Merita Bank, Finland's leading bank for business in the United Kingdom and the leading bank in the United Kingdom for business with Finland; Nokia Telecommunications, which has Cellnet, the United Kingdom mobile telephone network operator, as an important business partner; the energy business Ivo Group; Raisio, the foodstuffs, animal feeds and chemicals company with production units in fourteen countries; Enso, the forestry and paper group, which acquired the German paper manufacturer E.Holtzmann & Cie AG in April 1997; and Finn Crisp whose products are marketed by Brandt in Germany.

Three other areas for potential placement interest or expansion are tourism, trade organisations and hotel management. For example, the Finnish Tourist Board, Finnish Trade Centres and leading international hotel chains could also benefit from having Finnish students on placement with them.

The task of obtaining, cultivating and retaining industrial placements in the face of stiff competition is labour intensive and time-consuming, and many universities are not prepared to invest in such schemes. However, those which do reap the benefits.

Finland has an obvious number of advantages. Its economy is becoming more oriented towards the European Union, as reflected in the increasing number of trade links with Germany and the United Kingdom. Above all, however, it has an educated student body. In addition to their native language and Swedish, most Finnish students have a command of English and often German and French as well. Finnish students benefit from a multilingual and multicultural education, which is directed towards the European Union. Then there is also what I would term "Nachholbedarffaktor", i.e.

Finland's desire to be an active member of the European Union and to make up lost time; Finnish students want to be part of this experience by seizing study or, in this case, work opportunities abroad.

Finland's drawbacks, its geographical position on the periphery of the European Union and the fact that Finnish is little spoken outside Finland and is little used in international business, need not be insurmountable obstacles.

The replies from questionnaires and the discussions I have held with Finnish students at the University of Jyväskylä during the International Congress on Multicultural Education in October 1997 have confirmed my view that there is an enthusiastic and multilingual and therefore eminently suitable student body interested in industrial placements abroad. However, it requires time, effort, know-how, contacts and finances to arrange successful placements of the types outlined above. I shall be happy to act as advisor in this matter.

4.11 Conclusion

Where industrial placements are concerned, all the parties involved: the receiving enterprises, the sending universities, but especially the participating students, benefit.

It is clear that work placements in a foreign business environment enhance students' transnational career prospects, promote crossfrontier and intercultural communication, and implement the educational policy advocated by the European Union, which is aimed at greater European integration.

As a relatively new member of the European Union, Finland can learn from past experience in this area of student mobility so that it can play its full part in the European Union and its students can become members of a multilingual and multicultural mobile European workforce.

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PART FIVE: DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PLANNING IN AFRICA

1. DIFFERENCES IN VALUES AND BEHAVIOUR AND THE DISCONTENT OF WESTERN MANAGEMENT CONCEPTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: A SEARCH FOR NEW POLICY AND METHODOLOGICAL DIRECTION.[1]

Anthony Okuogume

1.1 Introduction

I am aware that taking up this topic for presentation at this 2nd International Congress for multicultural Education may raise some troublesome questions regarding the relation of this paper to the congress idea. However, I am not sure if this is a bold step but I know one thing: that is, the intent of this article is not only about raising awareness on the issue that is stressed here but also, it is about stretching the study of multiculturalism to extend beyond the domain of the science of pedagogy. By doing this I believe, we can exploit to a greater extent, the benefits that this intellectual and noble discipline has to offer to the human community. Perhaps, if you lend me your patience, I will explain to your comprehension, the relationship.

To me, the word 'culture' represent simply a way of acting or behaving. Therefore, if some group of people act or behave in a certain way, we can say they are acting or behaving in a certain cultural way. Also, the way we act culturally is defined by our frame of reference which is our values, believes, opinions, knowledge, or information we hold and which is of course, derived from 'formal programming' (educational) or on the other hand, what I termed, 'social programming'. This form of programming is relative to Geert Hofstede's 'culture two programming' (1994). According to him, this form of programming is collective and it is structured by the "social environments in which one grew up and collected one's life experiences." Further, this collective programming of the mind, in Geert's metaphor "distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another".

To substantiate further on this view let me take an example of what happened at a school premises in Tampere in June 1996. The event took place during the "People and Development occasion organised by the Finnish Foreign Ministry and the National Board of Education. Some group of Zimbabwean children came to perform at the one-week event and they were accommodated at an agricultural school in Tampere. Something happened at the school that took my interest and worth sharing with you. At the school premises there was a residential house where there was also a dog- and a big one indeed! Immediately after their arrival, the children took a walk around the premises and took notice of the dog tied to a tree. Their interest to come a few tens of meters nearer was aroused either by the curiosity to see how Finnish dogs look like or by the size of the dog itself! The

dog noticing the approaching children with an unfamiliar degree of noises or even 'colours' barked. The children jerked got scared, increased the tensity of their shouts and started running away! The owner sitting nearby the tree released the dog and it chased after the children. To the Zimbabwean children and adults in the group this was a familiar scene. A white person, a dog and running black children represented a reality of the Zimbabwean environment before independence and after. In their own environment, the children actions were an appropriate response to this situation because dogs own by Zimbabwean's whiter populations are generally trained to scare away people of darker skin who come unauthorised to white residential areas. These children acted the only way they knew; scared and ran away! On the other hand, if this were to be Finnish children, their programming (I believe) would have thought them that dogs are cute, loving, and man's best friend! They would not be scared even if the dog barked! And I believe they might even have approached the dog closer and even played with it- because, it is done that way here in Finland!

The interesting thing about this example is that it shows that the way we act or behave is constructed by our frames of references which are further defined by our social environments from which we have collected our live's experiences. So the question here is what is the implication of the above explanations to the construction of concepts or the building of theories. To answer this question I will begin by saying that theory construction (if I am allowed to undress the concept) is simply a process of building assumptions either on how things should be done or on how things should be seen. If this is carried out on an academic level we tend to believe that our frame of reference is derived basically from our formal educational experiences or knowledge and ignoring the contributions or influences our social environments had in the process.[2] On the other hand, if this is done on a non-academic level or to be specific, social level, and without hesitant, we term it 'culture'. A culture of; seeing things one way, behaving in a specific way, or doing things in a certain way. I have heard statements such as, "in Finland we see it this way, or the Japanese would rather do it this way". So my conclusion is that irrespective on the level to which we build an assumption the process and the defining variables are basically the same! To substantiate on this brave statement, I will like to point out that the whole basis of contingency school is to advance the argument that there is no value free rationality or every constructed scientific theories of the social sciences is highly influenced by the environment in which it is manufactured hence, they cannot hold universal validity. Also, the idea of multiculturalism is basically founded in a prismatic representation of reality. In this view, reality is like an 'optical prisma'[3], and what we see when we look through a prismatic optical lenses is defined by which point it is looked from. So the argument of the multicultural school is not very different from that of the contingency school. The only difference is that multiculturalism is committed not only to intellectual advancement but also 'empowerment' (Gay, 1997). It means that it is committed to the development of moral, ethical, and political commitments that will bring about individual, group and cultural equality in our societies. To this regard, multiculturalism can be said to rejects also the view that one theory of the universe cannot claim universal validity or the views of one group cannot set the standards in which others must operate. In theory construction, it means that an assumption created in a different environment cannot hold universal validity in all environments.

To return to our original purpose, perhaps, the stance of this paper should be explained at the very outset. In this regard, the argument of this paper proceeds from the standpoint that certain Western management values are inadequate in some areas. For example, the body of knowledge laid down by scholars such as Max, Webbed, Woodwork Wilson, Frank Goodness, Henry Fay, and Frederick Taylor to mention but a few, is generally (if not universally) considered to have laid the ground rules on how things should be organised in organisations or how management should be understood. This means that the works of these pioneering scholars laid the standards and

exemplary practices which are available today to people engaged in management and administration (Sun & Gargan, 1993: 281). These ground rules are "methods for approaching the problem of policy-making and internal administration" (Leonard, 1987: 900). They are, undoubtedly, a product of western science and are ingrained in the western cultures.[4]

When the ground rules of management and administration are analysed the question of their applicability is often raised. David Leonard (1987: 900), for example, reminds us by contending that the assumptions represented in these ground rules are not "universally valid in any society, but their applicability is even more limited in Africa than in the West". This is so because the norms and values of these ground rules conform more to the realities of Western countries than to the social realities of African countries.[5] So we can assume that the construction of management theories was made from a culturally "ethnocentric" (Park & Harrison, 1993) point of view[6]. This is why the limitations in applying these models in Africa raises the question of whether models and techniques of management derived from Europe and North America can apply in the African setting.

Geert Hofstede (1980) has empirically demonstrated that people situated along different cultural maps show considerable variations in behaviour and social values. David Richard (1991: 8) on the other hand, observed that "variations in the behaviour of people will result in variations in the doing of management". The reality of the concept of management in sub-Saharan Africa is that it has not been culturally diverse. It is more culturally related to European social values than it is to the African.[7] Also, this paper has every reasons to believe that this value is further reinforced by educational systems through which African managers are nurtured - in other sense, the indoctrination of African managers are realised from a "xenophilic" (Park & Harrison, 1993) point of view[8].

In a token, the objectives of this paper is to explore the structures of culturally ethnocentric conception of management and xenophilic culturally indoctrination of managers in SSA. From this experience, to produce a methodological framework and a policy recommendation on how conception of management and the indoctrination of African managers can be made more culturally "geocentric" (Park & Harrison, 1993).

1.2 The Ground Rules of Management

To understand these ground rules of organisation and management I should suggest we begin by taking a look at some of their underlying value premises.

On the basis of David Leonard's (1987) and Ladipo Adamolekum's (1992)[9] typologies, the major value premises are as follows: the first is 'purposive rationality'. In Leonard's (1987: 900) observation, this is the commitment to collective, formal, or organisational goals. In the case of a state, it is the commitment to societal goals. On the other hand, this requires other rational conditions such as the commitment to professionalism, achievement as well as universal and corporal orientations[10].

A FEATURES	B EXPECTED BENEFITS
1.Security of tenure	• Continuity and predictability in the conduct of government business. • Loyalty to the incumbent political executive. Smooth leadership succession. • Efficient administration; high productivity.
2.Political neutrality.	• Continuity and predictability in the conduct of government business. • Smooth leadership succession. • Loyalty to the incumbent political executive. • Fairness and impartiality to all citizens.
4.Fixed decentsalary.	• Efficient administration; high productivity.
3. Being propertiless	• Fairness and impartiality to all citizens (including consistency and equality of service). • Efficient administration; high productivity.

Figure A: Features of a Career Civil Service and the Expected Benefits[11]

Secondly, some of these ground rules are based on the value premises of "economic rationality" (Leonard, 1987: 900-902). In this view, economics becomes a "fundamental social process" (p: 900) through which "other human transactions can be understood" (Leonard, 1987: 900). In other words, human transactions are understood through their relationship to means and ends. This value premise is even more revealing in management science, where almost everything is based on the concept of economic rationality. For example, David Leonard (1987) argues that management techniques used for "analysis and supervision are wholly grounded in concepts of formal economic rationality". For example, such techniques as Management by Objectives (MBO), Planning, Programming and Budgeting (PPB), and Zero Based Budgeting (ZBB), are "based on the formal analysis of means-ends chains, as they serve officially specified goals" (Leonard, 1987: 900).

1.3 A Difference in Values and Behaviour and the Discontents of the Western Management Conception in SSA

The criticisms against traditional approach (mainly classical ones) to conceiving management and organisation is centred on the argument that it is not universally valid in any society, their applicability they contends, "is even more limited in Africa than in the West". This is because the ideas advanced in these 'ground rules' conforms more to the realities of Western countries than it is to the African[12]. The limitations in applying these models in the African settings raises the question of whether models and techniques of management that are Eurocentrically constructed can apply in the African setting.

This point of view is stressed by the contingency schools (Bola-Ntotele, 1986) and the environmental[13] (Fred Riggs, 1980) schools.[14] These schools of thought reject the universality of management principles. They hold the view that the "behaviour of people within organisations shows considerable variation of divergence" (Richards, 1991: 8), and the conception of management should be similarly "culturally diverse" (p: 8). Therefore, to fully understand the rationality of this argument, it is important to begin by looking into some realities of the environment of the African administrative systems in which these grand management principles and methods are applied. In fact, what I am about to present does not only confirm the existence of contravening value premises which compete with rational ones, but also other environmental realities or national cultures[15] which limit the application of principles and methods of Western management science in Africa.[16]

First of all, let us begin with the concept of 'collective'[17]. The concept as seen in the European World and in organisational theories, means 'formal' or 'organisational', and in the case of the state, 'societal'. On the other hand, the state, as pointed out by David Leonard (1987: 900) is often threatened by military coups and ethnic secessions, and hence it is a very fragile institution in Africa. Furthermore, societies in Africa are made up of people who are not united by any mutual interests, shared history or common destiny (Okuogume, 1991: 105). As a result, the state has become too much of an abstraction to be comprehensible to most Africans. This is why many Africans do not fully perceive the state or its institutions as the instrument for promoting the common good. As a result, this role is shifted to one's clan or ethnic group.

The abstract nature of the state is not the only reason for this. For example, the powers of the values of social exchange systems that African communities apply to safeguard themselves against risks are very strong. To understand the values of this social network we need to look at it from the perspective of the reciprocal rights and responsibilities that it confers. For example, most managers in public service are from local communities. Their social status is dependent on their official position, income and educational qualifications. Their hierarchical mobility in work places as well as education are in many cases made possible by the support of the extended families and of the local community. Against this background, the beneficiaries of communal assistance are placed under powerful obligation, and a refusal would mean to violate a basic social expectation, which can be followed by an outright condemnation from the other members of the community (see Ekpo, 1979).

In addition, most public managers have a large number of poor relatives and they have a very strong moral obligation to assist them in every possible way. The force of these moral pressures is enormous on public officials, hence they are less universal. This is why state organisations and institutions are extensively used to pursue kinship goals rather than the state or collective goals that are formally proclaimed (Leonard, 1987: 901). Therefore, purposive as conceived in terms of formal organisation do not apply. This is because officials "expect to use governmental agencies to achieve personal and other extra organisational goals first and formal goals second" (Leonard, 1987: 902).

As for the question of economic rationality, David Leonard (1987: 900-902) argues that administrative decisions in Africa are less likely to be made on the basis of cost-benefit analysis than in European countries. The reason he offers for this is that economic rationality is not a dominant practice of policy-making in contemporary African states. However, this is not to say that the Africans are naively ignorant of the viability of economic rationality, but that the environments in which policy-makers work place great limitations on applying the values of economic rationality.

For example, the following observation by David Leonard (1987) confirms this statement; according to him:

".....it is essential to the integration of African states and the survival of their regimes of all political persuasions that their governments produce visible, distributable benefits".

This means that in decision-making, the rule is political rationality not economic rationality. In East Africa, for example, governments are known to have spent huge sums of money on programs to assist agricultural producers even if this has been noted to have "damaging disincentives to production" (Leonard, 1987: 901). The programs in which money has been invested are known to be very ineffective, and they have been coupled with poor marketing, such as allowing marketing boards to interfere with markets even if it has had negative effects. For example, Robert Bates (1981, cit. in Leonard, 1987: 901) observation in East Africa illustrates the economic irrationality of actions which underlies political rationality:

> ..."Positive acts of support for farmers, such as credit and subsidised inputs, both bring gratitude and can be directed to the clients of politician or civil servant. Therefore they bolster the legitimacy of the regime and strengthen the patronage networks of those who work with it".

The same trend is also observed in Nigeria. For example, between 1979-1983 there existed a lot of politically motivated programs, committees and Presidential Task Forces in Nigeria. The infamous Presidential Task Force on rice is remembered in Nigeria today, not for its economic efficiency, but for its negative impact on rice production, price distortions and arbitrary political favouritism. In the process, hundreds of millions of dollars changed hands among those who worked or were related to those who worked in the business. Within the same period, there was also an outburst of politically motivated projects, such as the construction of super highways, industrial complexes[18] and the establishment of universities[19] at a time when older ones lacked the funds to pay their academic staff, to acquire teaching equipment or to maintain the existing facilities. The above examples are picked out from the period of civilian rule in Nigeria. However, this does not mean that the periods of military rule are immune from this. For example, if one was to take a journey through Nigerian cities and rural areas, one would see skeletons of unfinished buildings and schools, treacherous craters on ungraded roads, rusting pumps beside undrilled bore holes. All these are failed projects that were instigated for political purposes than for their economic rationality. The majority of these Projects date back to the periods of military rule.

Lastly, for the sake of efficiency, public managers are not allowed to own property in order to prevent them from appropriating their office; hence they are salaried. In Africa, governments do not pay adequate salaries to their public servants (see Ademolekum, 1992: 7; Robinson, 1990: 180-181) and in some cases, civil servants salaries are not paid on a regular basis (Fashoyin, 1990: 660). In Nigeria for example, the salaries of public servants are sometimes paid as late as six months to one year. Though this situation is not common to all Ministries, even in situations where salaries are paid regularly, civil servant's salaries have not kept up with the rate of inflation.[20] Therefore, if the operation of a rational system of bureaucracy requires the pecuniary compensation of officials then, how can public servants in sub-Saharan African countries be expected to concede to not having property or salaries if governments do not pay regularly or adequately. This demonstrates that the operation of rational principles of bureaucracy demands some conditions that are non-existent in the majority of the sub-Saharan African countries. This is why we may conclude that it is inadequate. On the other hand, their being adequate means that they are applicable. However, it has been noted that rational "assumptions are not universally valid in any society, but their applicability is even

more limited in Africa than in the West" (Leonard, 1987). This is because the norms and values of these ground rules conform more to the realities of Western countries than to the social realities of African societies. The limitations involved in applying these models in Africa raises the questions of whether models and techniques of management derived largely from Europe and North America can apply in the African settings.

To illuminate more on this, the following (very revealing) examples demonstrate the existence of fundamental differences in the cultures and set of shared understandings between a European and a non-European country. The examples are drawn from the results of the ambitious cross-cultural studies conducted by Geert Hofstede (1980). In the study, the dominant value patterns of some 40 countries were compared along four main dimensions:

1. **Individualism versus collectivism:** This dimension measured how people live among themselves and the relationship between the individual and the collective.
2. **Large versus small power distance:** This ascertained the extent of inequalities in such areas as prestige, wealth and power.
3. **Strong versus weak uncertainty avoidance:** This dimension measured the level to which cultures deal with uncertainty through technology, law and religion.
4. **Masculinity versus femininity:** This dimension measured sex roles as socialised in families, schools, peer groups .

The result from this investigation was astonishing. It revealed the differences in values and behaviour between a non-European and a European country. The findings in Geert Hofstede (1980) studies are as follows:

Collectivist	**Individualist**
In society, people are born into extended families or clans who protect them in exchange for loyalty.	In society, everybody is supposed to take care of himself/herself and his/her immediate families.
"We" consciousness holds sway.	"I" consciousness holds sway.
Identity is based in the social system.	Identity is based in the individual.
There is emotional dependence of individual on organisations and institutions.	There is emotional independence of individual from organisations or institutions.
The involvement with organisations is moral.	The involvement with organisations is calculative.
The emphasis is on belonging to organisations; membership is the ideal.	The emphasis is on the individual initiative and achievement; leadership is the ideal.
Private life is invaded by organisations and clans to which one belongs; opinions are predetermined.	Everybody has a right to a private life and opinion.
Expertise, order, duty, and security are provided by organisations or clan.	Autonomy, variety, pleasure, and individual financial security are sought in the system.
Friendships are predetermined by stable social relationships, but there is need for prestige within these relationships.	The need is for specific friendships.

Belief is placed in group decisions.	Belief is placed in individual decisions.
Value standards differ for in-groups and out-groups (particularism).	Value standards should apply to all (universalism).

Figure B: The Individualist Versus the Collectivist Dimension

In the individual versus collective dimension he found (as shown in figure 2) that individualist cultures predominate in the European societies. In this context, the predominance of "I consciousness" means that there is an "emotional independence of the individual from organisations or institutions" which also implies that the individual must take care of himself and his or her immediate family. In contrast, the non-European countries are found to have low individualism. This means that the characteristics of collectivist cultures predominate (Richard, 1991: 10). This is a culture in which "people are born into the collectives"[21] This means that individuals are born into a "close-knit kinship relationship and interlocking and tightly woven in-groups" (Richards, 1991: 10). The group protects the interests and welfare of its members and in return, every member is to protect the interests and welfare of the group, as well as to share "the group's opinions and beliefs" (Richard, 1991: 11; see also Hofstede, 1980: 45-46).

High Individualism	Low Individualism
universalism	particularism
achievement	ascription
diffuseness	specificity
neutrality	affectivity
self-orientation	collective orientation

Figure 3: The Difference Between loe and High Individualism

Figure 3 shows that there is a correlation between low individualism and particularistic tendencies. In the context of organisations in a non-European country, it means that personal characteristics relating to kinship and ethnicity are pervasive in organisational decisions and behaviour. This is why less emphasis is placed on "formal qualifications or expertise or the individual's ability to perform effectively" (Richard, 1991: 11).

Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance
Inequality in society should be minimised.	There should be an order of inequality in this world in which everybody has a rightful place; high and low are protected by this order.
All people should be interdependent.	A few people should be independent; most should be dependent.
Hierarchy means an inequality of roles, established for conveniences.	Hierarchy means existential inequality.
Superior considers subordinates to be "people like me."	Superiors consider subordinates to be a different kind of people.
Subordinates consider superiors to be "people like me."	Subordinates consider superiors as a different kind of people.

Superiors are accessible.	Superiors are inaccessible.
The use of power should be legitimate and is subject to the judgement as to whether it is good or evil.	Power is a basic fact of society that antedates good or evil. Its legitimacy is irrelevant.
All should have equal rights.	Power-holders are entitled to privileges.
Those in power should try to look less powerful than they are.	Those in power should try to look as powerful as possible.
The system is to blame.	The underdog is to blame.
The way to change a social system is to redistribute power.	The way to change a social system is to dethrone those in power.
People at various power levels feel less threatened and more prepared to trust people.	Other people are a potential threat to one's power and can rarely be trusted.
Latent harmony exists between the powerful and the powerless.	Latent conflict exists between the powerful and the powerless.
Co-operation among the powerless can be based on solidarity.	Co-operation among the powerless is difficult to attain because of their low-faith-in-people norm.

Figure C: The Power Distance Dimension

On the power distance dimension, the study found the existence of large power distance in non-European countries (Hofstede, 1980: 45-46; Richard, 1991: 12). This represents the existence of a high level of centralisation and inequality. The irony of this is that centralisation of power and inequality is endorsed by those below as much as by those above the social structures. As observed by David Richard (1991: 12), it means, "less powerful members of organisations and institutions accept that power is distributed unequally". In Geert Hofstede (1980: 45-46) view, this attitude legitimises inequality in these countries.

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
The uncertainty inherent in life is more easily accepted and each day is taken as it comes.	The uncertainty inherent in life is felt as a continuous threat that must be fought.
Ease and lower stress are experienced.	Higher anxiety and stress are experienced.
Time is free.	Time is money.
Hard work, as such, is not a virtue.	There is an inner urge to work harder.
Aggressive behaviour is frowned upon.	Aggressive behaviour of self and others is accepted.
Less showing of emotions is preferred.	More showing of emotions is preferred.
Conflict and competition can be contained on the level of fair play and used constructively.	Conflict and competition can unleash aggression and should therefore be avoided.
More acceptance of dissent is entailed.	A strong need for consensus is involved.

Deviation is considered threatening; greater tolerance is shown.	Deviant persons and ideas are dangerous; intolerance holds sway.
The ambience is one of less nationalism.	Nationalism is pervasive.
More positive feelings towards younger people are seen.	Younger people are suspect.
There is more willingness to take risks in life.	There is great concern with security in life.
The accent is on relativism, empiricism.	The search is for ultimate, absolute truths and values.
There should be as few rules as possible.	There is a need for written rules and regulations.
If rules cannot be kept, we should change them.	If rules cannot be kept, we are sinners and should repent.
Belief is placed in generalists and common sense.	Belief is placed in experts and their knowledge.
The authorities are there to serve the citizens.	Ordinary citizens are incompetent compared with the authorities.

Figure D: The Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

On the third dimension, the study indicates the existence of strong uncertainty avoidance in non-European countries, which means that these societies are more uncomfortable with or feel threatened by uncertain and ambiguous situations (Hofstede, 1980: 45). The reason for this is that non-European countries have a strong uncertainty avoiding culture. And uncertainty in this culture is safeguarded by "strict laws and rules, safety and security measures and on the philosophical and religious level by a belief in Absolute Truth" (Richard, 1991: 13).

Feminine	Masculine
Men needn't be assertive, but can also assume nurturing roles.	Men should be assertive. Women should be nurturing.
Sex roles in society are more fluid.	Sex roles in society are clearly differentiated.
There should be equality between sexes.	Men should dominate in society.
Quality of life is important.	Performance is what counts.
You work in order to live.	You live in order to work.
People and environment are important.	Money and things are important.
Interdependence is the ideal.	Independence is the ideal.
Service provides the motivations.	Ambition provides the drives.
One sympathises with the unfortunate.	One admires the successful achiever.
Small and slow are beautiful.	Big and fast are beautiful.
Unisex and androgyny are ideal.	Ostentatious manliness ("machismo") is appreciated.

Figure 6: The Masculinity Dimension

On the masculinity dimension, the study placed the non-European countries in the category of "medium masculinity" (Hofstede, 1980: 49; Richard, 1991: 15). This means that in these societies sex roles are clearly differentiated. Men are to be assertive, to dominate the society, ambitious and competitive and as well as to pursue material prowess. On the other hand, women are expected to be nurturing, not to dominate society, and should in the lesser sense, be assertive and competitive (see figure 6).

Geert Hofstede (1980) has empirically found that people situated differently along a cultural map shows considerable variations in behaviour and social values. As David Richard (1991: 8) observed, "variations in the behaviour of people will result in variations in the doing of management". The reality of the concept of management in sub-Saharan Africa is that it has not been culturally diverse. It is more culturally related to European social values than it is to the African.[22] Since these differences are not taken into account in the conception of management in non-European countries it threatens the relevancy of imported management ideas in Africa. However, this negligence is not easily noticeable as the whole administrative system is concerned, but it can be noticeable in its dysfunctional consequences that are debilitating to organisational productivity.

1.4 A Search for a New Methodological and Policy Direction

Bridging the Gap between the State-of-the-Art in Public Administration and Existing African Indigenous Culture

Bureaucratic systems, their ethics, and structures in Western countries came about as a response to the changes and needs of industrial revolution. The introduction process was one of a straightforward linear transition from traditional to modern bureaucratic structures. In Africa, bureaucratic systems and ethics came with the imposition of colonialism, and were used as a tool for exploitation and control. The present bureaucratic patterns in Africa did not emerge from a transition in which modern patterns displace traditional ones, but a development process represented by the "complex manifestation of the interaction between the two elements" (Vaughan, 1991: 309); traditional and modern. In the developed societies of Europe and North America, modern patterns of instrumentalities successfully eliminated traditional modalities. In Africa, the emerging modern patterns did not wash away traditional patterns of behaviours; instead, they co-existed through a process of co-development "characterised by a complex network of mutually re-enforcing systems of formal and informal alliances" (Vaughan, 1991: 311). Informal alliances, which are realised through traditional patterns, are marginalized, yet they do not imply weakness. They exist as customs or moral values of a community and serve as the unwritten constitution of that community. This is why traditional patterns are strongly defended and widely practiced.

On the other hand, modern patterns became established as the prescribed or formalistic patterns and the back-door behind which traditional lives are carried on. However, there is an explanation for this. For example, as modern bureaucratic structures were imposed in Africa and used as an instrument of control and exploitation by colonial masters, they came to be regarded by the Africans as colonial and as an alien way of doing things (De Graf-Johnson, 1986) and hence were not fully appreciated. This is why they did not successfully penetrate the African social structures.

On the other hand, traditional patterns which represent forms, procedures, attitudes or customary practices are cultural patterns which continued to prevail. They owe their uniqueness to the fact that they have survived a long period of evolution and represent a symbol through which a group's identity is defined. This is why traditional patterns are strongly adhered to and defended widely in

society[23] To management, these traditional patterns are predominantly regarded as constraints to their productivity[24] This value is further reinforced by educational systems through which managers are nurtured (For example, see Lungu, 1982: 345). In fact, not so much attention has been paid to the degree to which indigenous culture can facilitate management processes. This is why administrative reforms in Africa have always focused on eradicating traditional patterns and have been unsuccessful.

The question, therefore, is how management can achieve its productivity or effectiveness within the limitations imposed by the social environments? I think the answer to this question cannot be found through a pessimistic approach to the cultural environments. We may have come to realise that it is a wishful thought to try to erase traditional patterns which are so well inculcated in the fibers of a certain society. However, this is not to say that it is totally impossible: I believe it could be possible but only eventually, through a process marked by "voluntary adaptation" (Hernando, 1989: 245). So if management is to enhance its productivity within the limitations set by indigenous cultural norms, it means that management in Africa must develop a new image of management that is capable of merging modern management structures with traditional ones. And a good way to begin is to search for ways of converting cultural constraints into resources. How can this goal be achieved? For the solution of the problem, two hypothetical methods are proposed here:

1. Attitudinal change: change of attitude should be based on assuming positive attitudes towards the traditional social structures of a given society. By 'positive attitudes' we do not mean the substitution of due processes, but rather assuming a receptive attitude towards the traditional cultural environments. This, however, involves the recognition that not all cultural partterns are dysfunctional to management: and that we should be able to distinguish "useful from dysfunctional" (Lungu, 1982: 346) cultural patterns. This capability comes from the understanding that our knowledge on how African cultural patterns can advance management objectives are very limited and further research may be needed. According to SIDA, this "research needs to be carried out without projecting externally-derived categories and presuppositions onto the context under analysis" (1991: 66). Also, the process in this view is seen to be more anthropological than administrative because of the importance of understanding various aspects of African cultural patterns, such as the conception of work and the fabric of collective lives. And such understanding must not be made from the "basis of their superficial resemblance to established Western practices, but rather integrated into their context, including the symbolic meanings attached to these practices" (Ibid.: 66). By doing this, we not only create the possibility of inventing a management conception that is based on African cultural experience but also the appreciation that African cultural values can after all; promote management objectives.

2. Structural and Attitudinal decentralisation: One supposedly measured differences between modern and traditional patterns are in the areas of magnitude or size. In an organisation, magnitude is necessary for specialisation and organisational effectiveness. On the other hand, traditional African cultural patterns emphasise smallness based on the concept of small autonomous communities. So by decentralising authority, the operating norms of central and local administrative institutions may come to be differentiated. For example, if local communities are given complete autonomy to run their lives, it is most likely that the operating norms and processes of an organisation may be based on the cultural norms of the locality instead of those that are foreign to it. So decentralisation may permit two things: **(1) Differentiation**, not only on the basis of functions, but also of institutions and norms. A better approach will be to adopt a dual system. In this respect, the central bureaucratic apparatus associated with the urban areas are in a functional sense, set national objectives. Because of this fact and the sensitivity of their tasks, it will be most appropriate

that central bureaucracies abide by the precepts of modern bureaucracy, while grassroots bureaucratic institutions in local areas whose objectives are solely maintenance and implementation could be made to function less procedurally and within the spectrum of local norms. This can be considered a form of 'barefoot' administration manned by 'barefoot' managers. By doing this, we put management and organisation into local perspectives. **(II) Integration** on the other hand, is a situation whereby bureaucratic norms and indigenous cultural norms and institutions can co-exist in a complementary state and also, where local cultures and institutions work to support management initiatives.

3. Management Development: The International Labour Office (ILO)[25] defined management development as action directed "towards the further development of the knowledge and skills of practising managerial personnel and modification of their concepts, attitudes and practices". This activity can be defined as management education or management training. The ILO distinguishes management education from management training by defining the first as "the teaching of management as part of an institutional curriculum leading to a formal degree and which would occur in a university or an institution devoted specifically to management activities" (Curtis, 1990: 343); while management training, on the other hand, was seen as "an institutional program that does not result in a formal degree", which can be provided by a university, management institution or other form of organisation. The question here is: have management education and training in SSA facilitated the process of bridging the state-of-the art in management with the African cultural environments? It is the standpoint of this study that the impact of training institutions in SSA has been below expectations.

The failure of training institutions in SSA to achieve the expected impact in the problem area is generally attributed to various factors, most notably to problems relating to the content, context and process of training (Bazemore & Thai, 1995). According to Gordon Bazemore and Khi Thai (1995: 1448-1449), content-related problems are of two kinds: firstly, the choice of training methods that rely heavily on concepts, ideas and techniques which have little operational value; and secondly, the failure to link training output to organisational objectives and the lack of cultural sensitivity in the training curriculum.

The context in this regard means the conditions in which training operates. Managerial education and training are carried out in institutions that are impoverished and lack the resources and the equipment necessary for their task. Finally, as regards the process, the inadequacy observed here is related to a training process which relies only on formal lectures (chalk and talk) instead of one based on problem-solving. The aim of the following discussion is to provide some conceptual models for improving management training by looking into ways of alleviating the above inadequacies.

(I) Appropriate modification of the contents of training programmes: This can be achieved by designing training to match organisational or user needs and the context in which organisations must operate. Traditional-based training programmes emphasise "pre-work and pre-assessment" of competencies, action learning place great emphasis on training that begins prior to entry into an organisation and continues during the critical early stages. According to Barry Smith (1993: 44), this allows the achievement of the "vital linkage between a manager's expectations, self-development perceptions" and the needs of the user organisation. In sum, these suggests that traditional approach to management training must be minimised as experience is the best teacher it means that management training must embrace real life management situations as part of its teaching methods. Through this, (I believe), management training can truly measure up to the

challenges of matching its frameworks with the cultural frameworks or realities of the sub-Saharan African environment.

As for content-related problems arising from cultural insensitivity in the training curriculum, these need be addressed at the individual and institutional level. At the individual level, what is involved is the 'decolonisation of the mind'. One of the painful effects of colonisation is that it left a legacy of self-colonisation (xenophilic construction of the universe)[26] on the individual African. Mutombo (1980), for example, sees this as the process where the individual African scorns his/her cultures and values and allows his/her perceptions of the universe to become more European than African. The effect of this on the individual is that his/her conception of political and administrative models becomes exclusively derived from foreign models[27]. In a sense, s/he becomes ideologically and "administratively dependent"[28] (Nsenda, 1978: 21-22). At the institutional level, this problem can be alleviated by the development of training methods or curriculum, which increasingly look at African cultural traits as a source of reference in the process of building the individual manager.

On the basis of the above, the recommendation of this study is that curricula in management education and training should be organised in such a way as to take account of the cultural and social variables of the sub-Saharan African societies. The study's suggestions are based on Dubey et al's (1979) models presented in figure7.

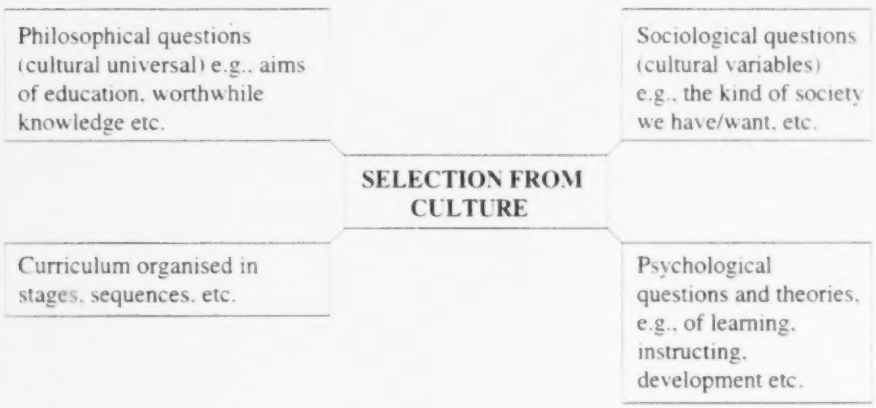
Philosophical questions (cultural universal) e.g., aims of education, worthwhile knowledge etc.
Sociological questions (cultural variables) e.g., the kind of society we have/want, etc.
SELECTION FROM CULTURE
Curriculum organised in stages, sequences, etc.
Psychological questions and theories, e.g., of learning, instructing, development etc.

Figure E: Curriculum and Reality in Society[29]

In conclusion, in dealing with the problem addressed in this section training was the central focus. On the other hand, I take the extreme position that learning institutions in sub-Saharan Africa should be re-structured as a whole. What this means is that instead of being a place where self-colonialization is re-enforced, training institutions could be transformed into places where the bonds of ideological dependence can be broken, for these are the very places where managers are trained. Therefore, instead of giving a management education that is fully characterised by European values, these institutes could be induced to restructure their courses so as to integrate certain elements of African culture into their management training curriculum.

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[1] *This is an unfinished document and references to it is strictly forbidden!*

[2] *However, I choose not to continue this argument for the fear that we may be consumed by it as this is related to a much bigger debate of the relation between values and scientific rationality.*

[3] *For more information on the prismatic theory please see Fred Riggs, (1964).*

[4] *Mahdi Manjra (1984:123) for example, observed that "no method especially in social science is value free". According to him, they are overwhelmingly conditioned by the socio-cultural value systems of the environments in which they are produced.*

[5] *David Richars (1991: 8) points out that contemporary management ideas and theories "are culture bound, are culturally relative" and are made in North America or in Europe. According to him, they are developed on the basis of North American or European assumptions.*

[6] *See appendix 1.*

[7] *A recent study conducted by Dieher Gebert and Thomas Steinkamp (1991) on leadership style in Nigeria and Taiwan confirms these views and the results of Geert Hofstede, (1980) studies.*

[8] *See appendix 1.*

[9] *For Adamalekum's typology, refer to Figure 5.*

[10] *Corporal standards entail that the resources of the collectives or of the organisation are to be kept distinct from those of the members of the organisation, and officials shall be salaried as a measure of preventing office holders from appropriating their office. For a more detail analysis of the rational standards of public administration, see Ralph Chandler (1978).*

[11] *Adapted from Adamalekun (1992).*

[12] *David Richars (1991: 8) points out that contemporary management ideas and theories "are culture bound, are culturally relative" and are made in North America or in Europe. According to him, they are developed on the basis of North American or European assumptions.*

[13] *Or should I say, 'neo-contigency' school*

[14] *However, the arguments of these two schools have been theoretical and philosophical rather than empirical (Richard, 1991).*

[15] *What I mean by national culture is related to Edward Tylor's (1871, cit. in David Richards, 1991: 7) view of anthropological nation of culture as that "complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".*

[16] *The findings of Geert Hofstede (1980) presented in Figure 2-6 empirically justify this claim.*

[17] *Please, refer to Figure 2.*

[18] *For example, the Ajokuta and Alaja steel complexes.*

[19] *Olatunde Lawuyi (1990: 227) has pointed out that at the federal level, the political elite used ambitious projects such as the creation of new universities to appeal for political support. According to him, there were 13 universities during the 1975-1979 military era. At the end of 1983 the number of universities in the country rose to 21 representing an increase of over 50 per cent in just 4 years! In the communities where these universities were located it represented a mark of "federal presence and a symbol of development" (p: 227), which in time are expected to translate into opportunities for the residents of those communities.*

[20] *Moses Kiggundu (1991: 41) for example, observed that the "salary of an African government worker buys half of what it did ten years ago".*

[21] *Collectives represent the extended family, the tribe, the clan, or the village.*

[22] *A recent study conducted by Dieher Gebert and Thomas Steinkamp (1991) on leadership style in Nigeria and Taiwan confirms these views and the results of Geert Hofstede, (1980) studies.*

[23] *Basically, any attempt to wish away these patterns of things may be seen by a group as threatening to their cultural heritage. Also, if such change is initiated by someone of a different ethnic or religious origin, it may reinforce the sense of threat among the affected ethnic group as they may probably perceive such action as a calculated attempt to dominate or to exterminate their culture and their existence as a group.*

[24] *Because of the following: The prebendary orientations of traditional values and institutions as expressed in 'corruption', people's attitudes towards government and its institutions which are traditionally guided, and the diversities in world views related to the existence of "many local deities with sharply divergent cues and mutually exclusive laws of behaviour" (Balogun, 1986: 215) places constraints on management processes.*

[25] *Cit. in Willi Curtis, 1990: 342.*

[26] *See appendix 1.*

[27] *This is not to say foreign models are corrupt, but to suggest that they could be of greater use to Africa if they are better adapted to the African environment.*

[28] *Administrative dependence as defined by Nsenda, (1978) is a situation whereby administrative ideas did not emerge from a gradual process of the evolution of political and social customs of a given society but from the imitation and reproduction of foreign models and practices.*

[29] *Source: DL Dubey et al. (1979: 63).*

Appendix 1.

Quadrant	My Culture's	Your Culture's	Attitudes	Frame of reference	Attributes
I	OK	Not OK	Xenophobic Ethnocentric	Single	Ignorance, cultural illiteracy
II	Not OK	Not OK	Misanthropic	Lost	Negative life experiences
III	Not OK	OK	Xenophilic	Distorted	Shallow knowledge, limited experience
IV	OK	OK	World-minded Geocentric	Multiple	In-depth knowledge, abundant experience

PARK & HARRISON, 1993.

2. EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PLANNING IN MOZAMBIQUE

Virgilio Juvane

2.1 Social and Economic Background

16,613,900 people live in Mozambique[1], of whom about seven million are aged between 6 and 24: that is, they are of school age. The average annual population growth is estimated at 2.8%, and 3.7% for those aged between 6 and 17, which is the population group that, in theory, should attend complete primary and secondary education. As a result, Mozambique is regarded as a country with a young population, which raises the level of demand not only for education services, but also for health care, transport, communications, housing and employment.

Administratively, Mozambique is divided into 11 provinces and 128 districts. The official language is Portuguese, although only 1.2% of the population have Portuguese as their mother tongue. The majority of the population speak one or more of 20 different Bantu languages spoken in the country (Martins, 1990: 24).

It should be mentioned that, because there is no common mother tongue nation-wide, Portuguese was adopted as the medium of instruction from grade 1 onwards. This seems to be one of the most important reasons for the high children's' repetitions and drop out rates.

The rate of inflation and the exchange rate of the Metical[2] since 1996 have shown an increase in the stability of the Mozambican economy. At the end of 1996 the accumulated annual inflation rate was 16.6 percent, as opposed to 54.1 percent in the preceding year. In 1997 inflation has continued to decline. At the end of May the accumulated rate of inflation was only 3.9 percent, as compared to 16.8 percent in the same period of 1996. This suggests that the Government's target of 14 percent inflation for the year will be achieved.

GDP growth has averaged 5.9 percent over the past five years. Important constituents of this growth include the recovery of food production, which has reduced the need to commit scarce foreign reserves to imports, and growth in merchandise exports, which has increased by nearly 30 percent in 1996 as compared with the preceding years.

2.2 A Brief Description of the Education System of Mozambique

Education is guided by the principle enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, according to which education is a right and a duty of every citizen. This should translate into equal opportunities of access for all citizens to the various types and levels of education. In the framework

of the law, the state allows other entities, including community, co-operative, business and private bodies, to participate in education. Public education is lay.

General Education consists of two levels, primary and secondary. In theory, children attend General Education as from the academic year in which their sixth birthday falls.

Primary education consists of the first seven grades, subdivided into two levels:

- First level (EP1), from first to fifth grade
- Second level (EP2), sixth and seventh grades.

General Secondary Education consists of five grades, subdivided into two cycles:

- First cycle, from 8th to 10th grade
- Second cycle, 11th and 12th grades.

Technical and Vocational education is the main instrument for the professional training of the skilled labour force needed for the country's economic and social development. It consists of the following levels:

- Elementary
- Basic
- Mid-level.

It is the task of higher education to ensure the highest level of training for technicians and specialists in the various fields of scientific knowledge required for the country's development. Higher education is aimed at those who have graduated with 12th grade from general education, or its equivalent, and is undertaken in universities, higher institutes, higher schools and academies.

Several factors have contributed to educational development imbalances in Mozambique. Up until independence, in 1975, Mozambique had an illiteracy rate of 93%, a distorted school network, poorly trained teachers, no expertise in management and administration of education, all in a context of the least developed country in Africa.

Education development can be divided into three periods, taking independence (1975) as the reference year. The first period goes from 1975 to 1983; the second from 1983 to 1992 and the third starts in 1992 to date.

The first period, which followed National Independence, was characterised by a political will to democratise access so that every citizen has a right to education. Both political and popular will of the new government led to an enrolment explosion . School enrolments grew at an annual rate of 15,6% between 1975 and 1981. Table I shows that the number of pupils in primary schools has doubled in two years. In absolute terms school population grew from 671.617 to 1363 000.

Year	Schools	Students
1975	5.235	671.617
1976	5.853	1.276.500
1977	7.076	1.363.000
1978	7.104	1.426.282
1979	7.170	1.474.729
1980	5.730	1.387.192
1981	5.709	1.376.865
1982	5.722	1.333.050
1983	5.886	1.220.139

Table I - Primary Education, grades 1-4, Evolution of School Network and School Population 1975-1983

The Second period (1983-1992) was that in which the education sector confronted the most severe obstacles to its development and expansion. The school population of 1.377.865 students in 1981 has decreased to an average of 1.200.000. The prime cause of this reduction was the war. The demographic growth however, continued to exert significant pressure on education structures.

The third period starts in 1992, when the General Peace Accords were signed. The 1992 accords brought to an end a long lasting armed conflict in the country, giving the way to a process of peace building and the establishment of a new political and organisational context. As life came back to normal from 1992, particularly in the rural areas, conditions became adequate for the re-launching of education sector activities. Since 1993 the government has concentrated its efforts in the resettlement of displaced people and refugees from neighbouring countries. The rehabilitation of educational infrastructures, the construction of new educational facilities goes hand in hand with the re-integration of both pupils and teachers.

2.3 Rationale Behind Educational Policy and Planning in Mozambique

At the Jomtien Conference, concerns have been expressed that education for all should not be pursued in a narrow sectoral way and that education policy should be placed within its broader social, cultural, political and economic context. W. H. Draper III, stressed that:

> *"Basic Education should be pursued not merely as a sectoral target, but as an integral part of a human development strategy."*[3]

A new vision of education has emerged in recent years. The Human Resource Document of the Commonwealth Secretariat described it ***as a vision which is placed at the heart of development***[4]. The Human Development Report of UNDP equally renewed emphasis on the concept of ***development woven around the people, not the people around development.***[5]

A historical look at the development of education in Mozambique shows that education reform (planning) and policy have been dictated by political and economic circumstances which have characterised the country throughout its history. They have hardly been a result of careful planning. Many reports and recommendations have been produced. However, most of them have been

produced on ad-hoc basis and therefore did not have an overall vision of the education system. In 1992, following the Jomtien Conference, the Ministry of Education started to carry out studies, which included the most important domains of the education system, and which would serve as the basis for the design of a development plan for education. Seminars and conferences were organised to discuss policies, strategies and priorities for education. Technical Committees were set up to discuss various options, which came up from these seminars and conferences, and produce recommendations on the following areas: Structures and Decentralisation, Training and Institutional Development, teacher status, Production of Teaching Materials, Privatisation, Assessment and Exams, Curriculum Development and Non-Formal Education.

Despite the merit of these studies and recommendations, they were unable to integrate the education system within the social and economic framework of the country. Furthermore, from these studies a document was produced which was then considered to be the Master Plan for basic Education. The education sector then was, as a matter of fact, claiming for a clear, coherent and long term vision translated into a development plan for the whole system of education, not just for Primary Education although this is recognised as a priority.

However, there still were some problems that affected the efficiency of the system and caused a certain amount of frustration and discontent among parents, students, teachers and the public as a whole. These issues persistently recurred in national debates in the media and in consultations with educational partners. They could not be addressed in isolation, i.e independently from one another as they were invariably related to the structure of the education system. Some of the major shortcomings were:

- 62 of children aged between 6 and 10 are out of the education system;
- 32% of EP1 students are taught through the three shift system;
- the language of instruction is not the mother tongue for the majority of students;
- Only 24% of teachers in EP1 are women;
- of the teaching staff at EP1 do not have a teaching qualification;
- the school curriculum is irrelevant;
- poor system management and administration capacity.

Another imperative for a comprehensive review of the role of education was the political change which has taken place in the country from 1990. The Mozambican one party parliament introduced substantial changes in the Constitution then in force to accommodate new and different political sensibilities within a multiparty legal framework. After long years of armed conflict, the process of pacifying the Mozambican society reached an important stage in 1994 with the holding of the multiparty general elections. As a result of these elections, a multiparty parliament and a new government were formed.

The Government had been elected on the basis of an agenda for change, with pledges to prioritise education and make it more equitable. It had to translate its political will into concrete actions. Education was one of the essential tools which would enable the Government to fulfil its vision of the future and of a progressive and peaceful nation. As Jacques Delors stress:

> "Education must help to engender a new humanism, one that contains an essential component and sets considerable store of knowledge and respect for the cultures and values of different civilizations as a much needed counterweight to a globalization of the world that would be seen only in economic and technological terms."[6]

Last, but probably the most decisive element was the plea of the Jomtien Conference on Education for All in 1990 which culminated in the Education for all Declaration. It gave encouragement and inspiration for action as it drew out guidelines for reforms and demonstrated the international support and collaboration could be enlisted in what was termed the ***grand alliance*** to support educational development. This is clearly stated in the statement of the Director General of UNESCO:

> "The World Conference on Education For All is, above all, a summons for action. Our common objective is to mobilise societies as a whole for the cause of education, to reaffirm flagging commitments, to joint complimentary forces and demonstrate international solidarity, to co-operate and learn from each other, and before this century ends, to make the right to education a daily reality for All."[7]

2.3.1 Approach Adopted

There were different approaches that could have been adopted for the preparation of the whole planning process. One was to have a policy and plan prepared by experts and technicians, another option was to take decisions at the level of the Ministry and the Government. However, we decided to avoid such approaches as our own experience in education had shown that education is a sector which involves many people; that decisions imposed from above are not always perceived positively. In fact, in a recent report to UNESCO, Jacques Delors affirms that:

> "The main parties contributing to the success of educational reforms are, first of all, the local community, including parents, heads, and teachers; secondly the public authorities; and thirdly the international community. Many past failures have been due to insufficient involvement of one or more of these partners. Attempts to impose educational reforms from top down, or from outside have obviously failed."[8]

The Jomtien Conference had drawn attention to the need for new and revitalised partnerships and Article 9 of the Declaration spelt out that if the basic learning needs of all are to be met through a much broader scope of action than in the past, it would be essential to mobilise existing, new financial and human resources, public and private and voluntary.

Past experience in Mozambique and other countries had shown that reports and plans written by experts and technicians in distant offices, without consultations at grassroots level were sometimes not realistic or not acceptable to those directly concerned. This is illustrated by the structural adjustment programmes which have done more disservice than brought benefits to education in many countries. A World University Service study revealed that the programmes have ***exacerbated poverty and deprivation of substantial sections of the populations and are threatening the fabric of social and educational services***.

2.3.2 Structural Adjustment Programmes

In Mozambique, in 1987, due to a very difficult economic situation, structural adjustment programmes proposed drastic cuts, in education expenditure, including freezing posts, review of free education. From 1980 to 1986 the recurrent educational budget amounted to between 17 and 19% of the total government recurrent budget; but in 1987 this percentage dropped sharply to 9% (MINED, 1990). Cuts in educational expenditure mainly affected the real wages of teachers, which collapsed by about 50% between 1986 and 1987. This resulted in tragic human problems. It led to strikes and general unrest in the education sector, demotivated the teaching force.

For all these reasons, we chose the participatory approach. We wished the plan to reflect the aspirations of the people, to rally popular support and to reflect national commitment. We were able

to create a national interest for the exercise, to motivate partners to reflect on crucial educational issues and to find solutions as a team. This approach was part of a deliberate strategy to promote sustainable and endogenous human resource capacities for the preparation, implementation and follow-up activities.

The participatory approach process has certain disadvantages. Groups might come with proposals to promote their specific interests, such as pay increases. Another risk in a multi-cultural context is that diverging proposals from groups which have opposing interests would lead to emotional debates, increased tension and result in deadlock. Political groups might exercise political pressure and exploit the opportunity for indiscriminate criticism.

These difficulties were avoided through dialogue, by sensitising people about the importance of the plan and by creating the appropriate mechanism and modalities for the management of conflicting interests. We structured the debates and discussions, so that the proposals emanating from groups and individuals would reflect a national concern rather than specific and sectoral interests.

One of our first actions was to enlist the participation of the major stakeholders. This was achieved through the following steps:

- The approval of Government as one of the major stakeholders was sought;
- The Assembly's Committee responsible for education was involved in the exercise;
- Education authorities at different levels, NGO's, private schools, religious bodies were involved in consultations;
- The media participated by arousing debates on controversial issues;
- Question and answer sessions were held with various partners of education sector.

At the Jomtien Conference, the international organisations had promised to increase the assistance to educational projects in developing countries. Bearing this in mind, we contacted UNESCO in the initial stages.

UNESCO has played an important role right at the outset as a specialised agency in providing assistance to the formulation of development policies and plans.

Our understanding was that the process should be conducted by the Ministry of Education. This procedure was believed to an important element that would bring a sense of ownership. This did not mean that external co-operation partners were excluded. Thus, multilateral and bilateral co-operation agencies were involved in the discussions of policies which were being formulated. We wanted the partners to feel sufficiently identified with our aims and objectives and that the political dialogue would contribute to reaching the necessary consensus.

2.4 Preparation of the Policy Planning Process

1995 represents the policy planning process momentum. Indeed, after the formation of the new government of Mozambique which won the multi-party elections held in 1994 and the parliament adoption of the five-year-programme proposed by the government, the Ministry of Education embarked on the formulation of the education policy. This document consisted, mainly, in the translation of the government objectives in the context of a specific sectoral vision. In the internal discussions which took place at the Ministry of Education, it was premised that although the

formulation of the policy should be based on the government five-year-plan, it should present a development vision which goes beyond the mandate of the current government. The underlying argument is that harmonious and continuous development of education as a system should not be prejudiced by specific agendas of governments which follow each other from one mandate to the other.

As far as we are concerned, this will only be possible if there is a national consensus of the policy to be adopted. As regards policy planning process, Samoff argues that policies can be adopted because they have the support of influential individuals or groups even if they lack technical expertise or cost-benefit analysis.

The formulation of the education policy, was in fact a systematisation exercise of various discussions held in and outside the sector on education in the country. As already discussed, in 1992, a Steering Committee[9] carried out studies and discussions whose recommendations constitute the basis for the development vision at our disposal today.

Despite the discussions held internally, the Ministry of Education opened itself up for discussions and consultation with the donors. Various working sessions were organised to jointly discuss with donors because we believed that the educational policy should bring together consensus of opinion not only internal but also in our relationship with the donors. In fact, the donors also participated in the technical committees led by the Ministry of Education because they are our partners in the national effort for provision of education.

Once the discussions and consultations were completed, the Ministry of Education submitted its sectoral policy to the government which was then approved in August 1995. The next step of the process was to bring a coherent terms of reference into operation, by establishing policies and strategies, priorities and the resources required for the implementation of the approved policy. Thus, we moved towards the design of the strategic plan for the education sector.

The preparation of the sectoral strategy for education has demonstrated, from the outset, to be a process which is (i) global, therefore it should include all areas of the education system; (ii) coherent as far as government and education policies; (iii) centred around priorities, that is, variables which were likely to bring about qualitative and quantitative change into the system; (iv) participatory so that it incorporates in its content and objectives different sensibilities represented by the users of the education services as well as by national and international co-operation partners and; (v) of consensus and that it should be translated by all stakeholders accepting the final product.

A Steering Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Education and bringing together he main decisions makers and senior administrative and technical staff of the Ministry. As suggested by the name this Steering Committee was responsible for conducting the design process of the Sector Strategic Plan for Education. Throughout the process The Steering Committee involved community and donor representatives and people from external sectors but relevant to the Ministry of Education. the Director of Planning was appointed by the Minister of Education as the Co-ordinator of the Steering Committee.

A working Group was set up, chaired by a co-ordinator, to deal with the day to day matters, to follow on preparation of papers and to report to the Steering Committee. The groups which were set up included the following areas:

- Primary and Secondary Education
- Vocational and Technical Education
- Teacher Training
- Gender Issues
- Non- Formal Education and Literacy
- Higher Education
- Management and Capacity Building.

The groups provided an important opportunity for reflection and debate with the view to reaching a general consensus on various policy and strategy options to be adopted and included co-operation partners at the crucial stages of the process.

2.4.1 Setting Targets and Goals

The fundamental principles of the Declaration on Education for All are:

> "Education is a fundamental right for all people, women and men of all ages throughout the world. Education can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic progress, tolerance, and international Cupertino."

Our objectives were based on these internationally accepted principles and on our own local needs and aims. Setting the objectives, according to Jacques Hallak, ***is the real challenge that political leaders face.*** He points out that ***policy makers must, at the same time take into consideration the need for (I) correcting imbalances, (ii) reaching the target of universal literacy, (iii) reducing inequalities of access to education, (iv) expanding the coverage, (v) improving the quality, and increasing the efficiency in the use of resources.***[10]

There are three fundamental problems in the Mozambican education system, which affect all levels of the system and virtually all institutions at each level. The first is limited access to educational opportunities, the second is poor quality, and the third is the cost of expanding access and improving quality. Access to educational opportunities is extremely limited in secondary and tertiary institutions, and in technical and professional schools as well, and the quality of education provided in these institutions is often poor.

As a result the Education Sector Strategic Plan proposes three main objectives for the education system. The first among these is to increase access to educational opportunities at all levels of the education system, for all Mozambicans. The second objective is to maintain and improve the quality of education, while the third is to develop an institutional and financial framework that will sustain Mozambican schools and students into the future. The Government's strategy seeks to minimise the tradeoffs among these three objectives, while assigning the highest priority to accelerated progress towards universal primary schooling.

Successful implementation of the strategy will require close Cupertino between the Ministry of Education and a full range of stakeholders in the education system, including parents, local communities, employers, NGOs, and religious organisations, all of whom will be called upon to assume significantly larger roles in educational finance and governance. It will also require continued financial support from the Ministry's international partners.

These objectives reflected the concerns of almost all those involved in education as well as in the economic and social sectors. There was general consensus on these objectives which reconciled diverse interests with the national interests.

The ESSP emerged through these various stages:

- Identification of problems;
- An analysis of potential solutions in the context of Plan's objectives;
- Formulation of proposals at official and technical levels, and
- Acceptance of solutions at the political level.

2.4.2 Educational Policy Framework

As already referred, in 1995, within the context of its overall development strategy, the Government adopted the Education Policy, which established the policy framework for the national education system. The policy identifies the Government's main aims for the education system as a whole, and defines specific policies for every sector within the system. Acknowledging the many urgent educational needs that remain unsatisfied in Mozambique, the Government nevertheless recognised that the scarcity of financial and human resources would not allow all of these needs to be addressed at once. The Education Policy therefore identified basic education and adult literacy as "the topmost priority of the Government."

The Education Sector Strategic Plan defines the Ministry's fundamental objectives for the basic education system, and identifies the means by which the Ministry-acting in concert with domestic stakeholders and international partners - will move to accomplish them. The central objective of the strategy is universal access to primary schooling for all Mozambican children. Additional objectives include improvements in the quality of basic education and the establishment of a sustainable, flexible, and decentralised system in which responsibility is widely shared with those who work in the system and those whom it serves. The ultimate goal of the ESSP is to support the Government's national development strategy by building an education system that provides Mozambican citizens with the knowledge and skills that they need to obtain sustainable livelihoods, accelerate the growth of the economy, and strengthen the institutions of a democratic society.

Rapid progress toward universal primary schooling is the central goal of the ESSP. The right to education for all Mozambicans is enshrined in the Constitution, and the goal of universal basic education was affirmed by the Government in 1990, at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien.

Universal access to primary school is of fundamental importance for the Government's development strategy, for four main reasons. First, providing basic education for all is a central element in the Government's strategy for poverty reduction, because the acquisition of basic academic skills including literacy will expand the access of Mozambican citizens to employment opportunities and sustainable livelihoods. Second, the development of Mozambique's human resources is essential if the country's economic growth is to be sustained. Third, universal access to primary education is the surest strategy for increasing equity in the education system. Fourth, education is necessary for the effective exercise of citizenship, and an informed and critical population is essential for the protection and reinforcement of democratic institutions.

2.4.3 Time Frame

A calendar for the formulation of the ESSP was drawn up. We started our work in February 1996. The time limit for completion was December 1996. The time frame was not realistic. It took us longer than expected to formulate certain proposals, to have consultations and to reach agreement on important issues. Another reason which contributed towards not meeting the deadline was the nature of the plan itself in terms of its conception, scope and funding methods.

The Ministry of Education wished to design a plan which reflected the priority needs of the system; which was financed mainly through grants and agreed by all donors as far as its funding and implementation. It is within this context that the idea of producing an instrument known by the World Bank as Sector Investment Program or Sectoral Development Programmes for Education as the European Union calls it came about.

According to Harrold and Associates[11] there are six essential features of a sector investment program, namely (a) a SIP is sector-wide in scope, where a "sector" is defined as a coherent set of activities, which need to be looked at together to make a meaningful assessment, and it must cover all sector expenditures, both current and capital; (b) a SIP has to be based on a clear sector strategy and policy framework; (c) local stakeholders, meaning government, direct beneficiaries, and private sector representatives have to be fully in charge; (d) all main donors must sign on to the approach and participate in its financing; (e) implementation arrangements should to the extent possible be common to all financiers; and (f) local capacity, rather than long term technical assistance, should be relied upon as much as possible, for the project.

In the case of EU, the term SDP arose in April 1996[12] meeting of Directors-General for development of the Community and Member States as a means to establish common platforms by defining a strategy and the means necessary to empower governments to design and implement "Sectoral Development Programmes". EU considers SDP, ***a tool*** to enable government and donors to overcome constraints. It consists of a process of negotiation leading to a transparent ***agreement*** in the form of a ***coherent*** operational ***programme*** in the context of a sectoral strategy, with financial commitment by all parties over an agreed period, in a co-ordinated manner, in order to make use of external assistance.

What has to be stressed is that comprehensive programmes contribute to move from an individual project approach in investment to a broader sector approach. At the beginning of the process we agreed that the Banks should take the role of ***"lender of last resort"***, financing those components of the sectoral program not picked up by other donors.

As a result of all the above, the process is taking more time than expected. However, it has the merit of being driven by national authorities which will strengthen the sense of ownership.

It is important to have a time frame. In this respect, the international organisations helped us to comply with the time table by pressing us from time to time. There was also the question of our own credibility towards these organisations and the Mozambican people.

2.4.4 Joint Mission

Right from the initial stages of the design of the ESSP in February 1996, four preparatory missions have taken place involving the Ministry of Education and the donors. However, the first two

missions held in June and December 1996 had a strong participation of the World Bank, though all the other donors were also involved. The major changes came about in 1997. The mission held in April/May was co-ordinated by the Ministry of Education and all donors participated including the World Bank. The Ministry of Education was assigned the task of preparing the terms of reference of the mission and submit it to the donors for discussion and approval before the beginning of the mission. At the end of the April/May 1997 mission, an Aide Memoire was produced in which it is stressed that: ***"the mission finding that the Ministry of Education had made sufficient progress in strategy development and stakeholders validation, he mission agreed to initiate the formal operation review process"***. The Aide-Memoire goes further to say that: ***"during meetings with donors, the general consensus seemed to be that, despite unresolved issues in parts of the strategy, the overall direction of the sector was acceptable and should be supported."***

The joint Aide-Memoire produced in the last consultation rounds held in September emphasises that: ***"Ministry of Education and its international partners fully share the vision of education for all in Mozambique by 2010, and agree that the proposed ESSP has the potential to serve as a framework for a jointly-financed sector programme."***

In the framework of the UN Special Initiative on Africa (UNSIA), a high level technical meeting on Mozambique ESSP was hosted by UNESCO in July. The objective of the meeting, which constituted an important step in the policy dialogue process engaged by the Government of Mozambique with the Donor Community, was to help to build consensus and donor support around the ESSP being worked out by Mozambique.

A joint statement was also issued by Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and The Netherlands. In their statement, they concluded that the overall vision Mozambique has of the priorities and the long term objectives of the education sector is very clear.

Alongside these discussions and consultations with donors, there are and there will be consultations at internal level with the civil society. Priority target groups are teachers and other education staff, parents and students, the private sector, religious groups, NGO's and other society segments. An important step in the internal consultation process was made before the September joint mission with donors was held. The Ministry of Education submitted the ESSP to the Council of Ministers with the view to receiving the council's blessing and legitimacy before the discussions with the donors were held.

2.5 Mobilising of Resources

While it is very important to have a good plan, it is even more important to have the means to implement it. We know that allocation of funds depends largely on the Ministry of Finance, which itself has to grapple with the complex allocation of resources to different sectors. The cost of significant expansion and improvement in the education system is neither affordable nor sustainable within the present budget of the Ministry of Education. Under these circumstances, expanding access and improving quality in response to the increasing demands of Mozambican citizens will not be possible unless other actors including stakeholders and representatives of civil society are willing to assume a considerably greater share of responsibility in the finance and governance of the education system.

In response to the demands of the economy for increased investment in human resources and the expectations of Mozambican citizens for greater educational opportunities, the Government has made expansion and improvement in basic education a central element in its development strategy.

The Government has made it clear that it is its commitment to seriously enhanced educational opportunities by rapidly increasing the share of public expenditure that goes to education, from less than 10 percent in 1994 to 17 percent in 1996. Education is now the single largest category of recurrent expenditure, and the second largest category of investment expenditure, after roads. Increasing the salaries of civil servants including teachers is among the Government's short term priorities for 1997, which will further increase the share of public resources devoted to education. With sustained economic growth, reduced debt service obligations, and improved revenue generation (e.g., through the introduction of VAT) the resources available for education should continue to increase steadily in the coming decade. If the share of the Government's budget allocated to education were to rise further, to the levels prevailing in neighbouring countries (i.e., 21-22 percent), the rate of increase would be even faster.

After having prepared the ESSP, the Ministry would have not only local resources but also longer term indispensable financial resources from donors committed to it to ensure its smooth implementation. We will need to prove that the Government of Mozambique is fully committed to the implementation of the Plan, by demonstrating the level of allocation estimated for education. Currently the Ministry of Finance is discussing with education, different assumptions aiming to set up the expected level of financial commitment.

The obligations imposed by debt service pose a huge obstacle to increased expenditure in education and other social sectors in Mozambique, as indeed the IMF and the World Bank have come to recognise it. Debt service currently takes approximately 30 percent of the Government's annual recurrent budget. Initiatives now under way to relieve the debt burden of Mozambique and other poor countries promise to release significant revenues for the education sector that can be used to improve the welfare and expand the opportunities of Mozambican citizens.

2.6 Implementation

The design of the ESSP is flexible, in order to allow regular modifications in response to changing circumstances. The pace and phasing of implementation will depend primarily on the development of increased capacity in key areas of the educational system, including classroom construction, teacher training, curriculum development, and school administration. Capacity constraints in these and related areas are both financial and organisational. Success in overcoming them will require partnerships between the Ministry of Education and the Government's domestic and international partners. With respect to classroom construction, for example, the pace of implementation will depend on the development and adoption of low-cost models for classrooms, on the willingness of local communities to contribute to construction and rehabilitation projects, and on the continued financial support of the Government's external partners. With respect to teacher training, implementation will depend on the Ministry's ability to recruit acceptable candidates for teaching positions, on the rate of increase in the output of pre-service teacher training institutions, and on the expansion of capacity to provide in-service training and support for new and underqualified teachers. Overcoming these constraints will enhance flexibility and make the system more responsive to the demands of particular communities and constituencies, thus contributing to the attainment of the Government's central objective.

Successful implementation of the ESSP will also depend on the establishment of an effective process for monitoring implementation, in order to identify and address problems and adjust plans and targets in a timely fashion. This will require regular consultation with civil society and stakeholders, through the National Education Council and provincial and local councils. It will also require the establishment of a Monitoring Group comprising representatives from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry's principal donors to set benchmarks, review policies and discuss development strategies, and evaluate progress discuss development toward the Ministry's key objectives. An important element of these consultative processes will be the establishment of transparent procedures for financial administration, including regular audits of the Ministry's accounts and the sharing of financial information with stakeholders.

The Ministry's annual report will provide wide access to information on progress toward the Government's strategic objectives, desegregated to provincial and district levels in order to provide . Among the indicators to be reported on in the annual report will be enrolment rates in primary schools, the percentage of females enrolled at various levels of the educational system, measures of internal efficiency including repetition and drop-out rates, completion rates in training programs for pre-service and in-service teachers, numbers of classrooms constructed or rehabilitated, and measures of school quality including the availability of qualified teachers, textbooks, and basic learning materials.

In Cupertino with the Ministry of Finance and its main external partners, the Ministry of Education is currently preparing a detailed financial plan for the implementation of the ESSP. This document will set forth estimates of the quantity of resources needed to implement the Ministry's strategy, including estimates resources to be provided from the Government's budget and from external agencies. The document will also identify the quantity of resources to be obtained through cost-sharing by households and communities.

At central level each National Directorate was asked to draft its own institutional development plan, which will be a operationalisation of macro-objectives of our ESSP. At provincial level all the Local Education Authorities were requested to prepare their Development Plans as a tool for implementation at their level.

One of the most important elements is the professional capacity of the Ministry and of the related organisations to carry out the various projects. The issue of capacity building is strongly addressed in our ESSP. In that connection, the Ministry recognise the importance of:

- developing appropriate management principles, and a more open consultative style;
- strengthening management systems, structures and processes, and
- enhancing the management skills of education personnel throughout the education sector, with special attention to female staff.

In order to achieve its objectives of developing an institutional and financial framework that will sustain Mozambique schools and students in future, The Ministry of Education has committed itself to a number of important principles:

- placing the school at the heart of education transformation;
- decentralising responsibility and decision-making;
- making optimal use of available resources in the education sector;
- working in partnership with all those who have an interest in education, and
- taking a more comprehensive approach to human resource development.

2.7 Lessons to be Drawn

The lessons drawn are numerous and instructive. We found out that the policy of consultation led to certain difficulties. Groups came with their own sectoral interests. For teacher, the main preoccupation is salary. We are aware that the success of the implementation depends to large extent on teachers who constitute the essential link with students. Some people claim that the ESSP is not addressing the issue of salary, which they consider the main factor of teachers' motivation. Teacher and other social sectors have persistently asked for a review of salary and teachers' status which they consider has been downgraded over the years in terms of salary and relativity with other grades.

In a multi-cultural environment, we have in some cases to choose middle of the road policies in a spirit of compromise, rather than policy based on sound pedagogical and social considerations. The language issue, History subject which are highly complex, is an example where no consensus has been reached up to now.

Another experience which is worth mentioning is the need to consider all the religious, traditional and cultural values and beliefs that prevail in a plural society. Any policy or decision that appears offensive to one or more groups might create unnecessary tension and unrest. In the case of teaching of values in schools, all the religious groups were consulted within the curricular reform framework so that it is acceptable to all.

Education policies do not always show immediate results. It is only after a number of years that positive effects can be perceived. The inability to show immediate results makes the tasks of drafters of the plan and the political stakeholders unrewarding, as people cannot appreciate the policies in their right perspectives, they are often impatient to see results, and do not spare criticisms.

But, there are many positive aspects to the task that we have undertaken in Mozambique.

For the first instance, a comprehensive plan has been worked out, reflecting political will and support of all the local stakeholders and illustrating wide national consensus; it has placed education within the wider social and political context. We succeeded in creating the grand alliance spirit which Jomtien wanted us to achieve and more important, created the feeling of ownership and shared responsibility which is fundamental if social sustainability of the ESSP is to be achieved.

As Martins[13] states, to have a sound education policy and strategic plan which has been blessed by the civil society, provided us with a fundamental instrument for negotiations with both, the Government and donors.

For the first time, several international organisations have associated with the Government in the preparation of the plan and have offered assistance of such a magnitude without any restrictive pre-condition.

Finally we have to point out that the best lesson to be learnt from the Mozambican experience is that investment in education yields rich dividends. Investment in human development is a life long investment which benefits the country as a whole.

[1] National Statistics Board - 1994 Statistical Yearbook.
[2] Metical is the local currency.
[3] Final Report - World Conference on Education for All - 1990.
[4] Commonwealth Secretariat - Fondations for the Future - 1993.
[5] UNDP - Human Development Report - 1991.
[6] Learning the treasure within - Report to the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century - Jacques Delors - 1996.
[7] Final Report - World Conference on Education for All - 1990.
[8] Learning The Treasure Within - Report to the International Commisssion on Education for the 21st Century - Jacques Delors - 1996.
[9] In 1992, a Steering Committee established at the Ministry of Education began the process of assembling the elements of a revised plan for the long term development development of basic education, bringing together the initiatives of different social forces and establishing contacts with a wid representation of communities and society. We held conferences and seminars during which policies, strategies and priorities were discussed. Technical Commissions were appointed to reflect upon the options and produce recommendations on the following: Structures and Decentralization, Training and Capacity Building, Techers' Conditions, Prodution of Educational Materials, Privatisation, Evaluation and Examinations, Curriculum Design and Development, Non-Formal Education. These Commissions were made up of educationalists ranging from National Directores to experts with a variety of specialisation and funtions, teachers, as well as colleagues from other sectors.
[10] Investing into the Future - Jacques Hallak - UNDP, 1990.
[11] The Broad Sector Approach to Investment Lending - Sector Investment Programs, Peter Harrold and Associates, World Bank Discussion Papers (302), Africa Technical Department Series, 1995.
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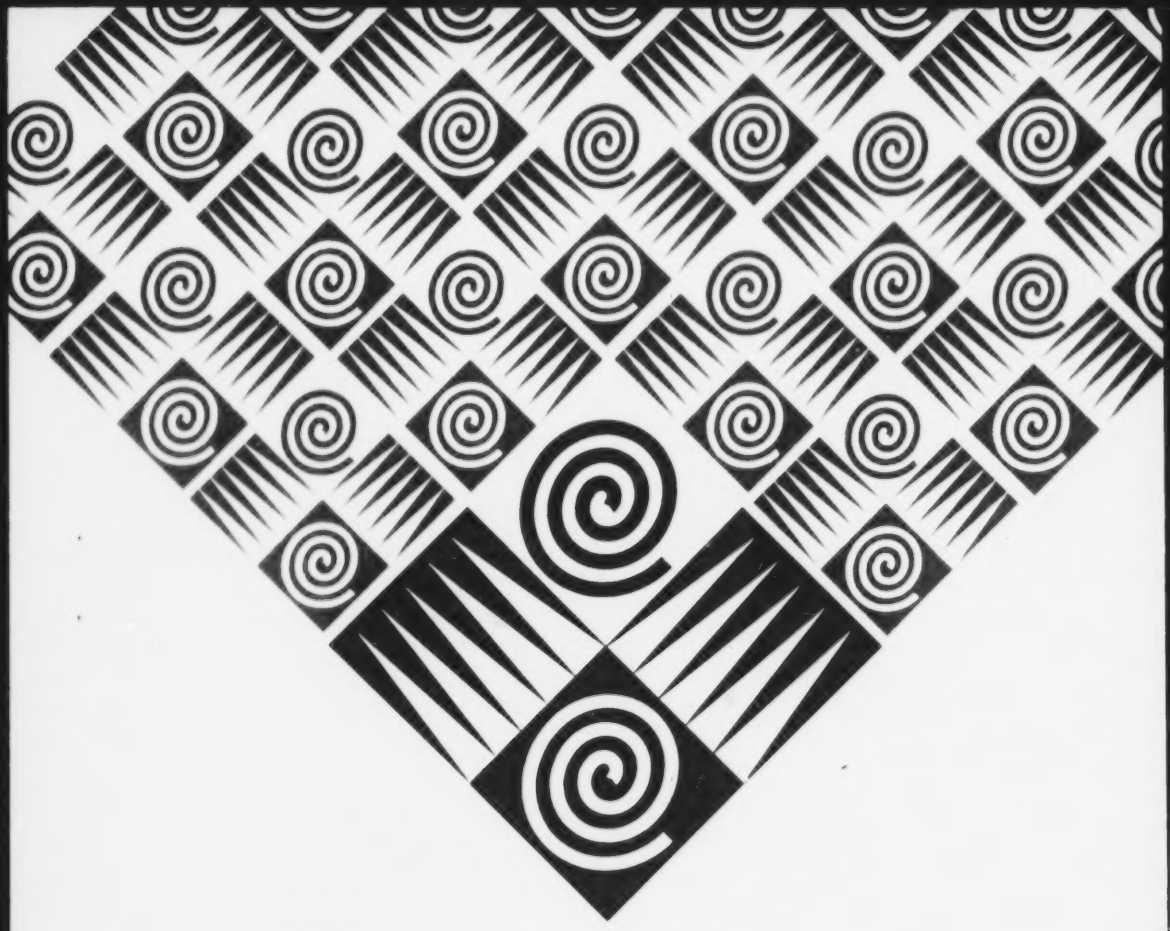

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